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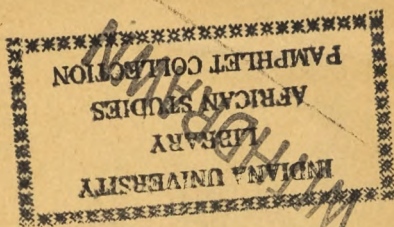


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No. XX—December, 1936

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SIERRA LEONE STUDIES.

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1. EDITORIAL NOTES.

In the last Number I asked readers to join with me in wishing Mr. J. de Hart, Editor of the *Studies* from their inauguration in 1918 until 1927, many happy years in his retirement from the Service. It is with deep regret that I have to record in these Notes his death less than two years after retirement.

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I apologise for the long interval that has elapsed since the publication of Number XIX. Various factors have contributed to this delay, but the difficulty in obtaining contributions has not been the least of them. It will be observed, indeed, that the bulk of this Number is due to the courtesy of Monsieur Paul Marty and Monsieur Aubert. Although their articles deal more directly with conditions in French Guinea, it is thought that the subject-matter is of almost equal interest to Sierra Leone.

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I am glad to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to contributors for the assistance they have rendered me during my tenure of the editorship from 1928 onwards.

D. B. D.

11th November, 1936.

2. ISLAM IN GUINEA.

CHAPTERS IV AND V.*

BY MONSIEUR PAUL MARTY. TRANSLATED BY E. F. SAYERS.
(By kind permission of the Author and of Messrs Ernest Leroux,
Editeurs, Paris).

CHAPTER IV. THE QADRIYA JAKHANKE OF TOUBA.

- (i). Origins.
- (ii). Karamokho Sankoun.
- (iii). The famous men of Touba.
- (iv). Touba.
- (v). The widespread influence of Touba.

CHAPTER V. THE TOKOLOR TIDJANIA OF DINGUIRAYE.

- (i). Al Hadj Omar and his family at Dinguiraye.
- (ii). The Dinguiraye Cercle (1916).
- (iii). The personalities of the religious world of Dinguiraye.
- (iv). Tokolors of Dinguiraye and Fulas of Fouta Jallon.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TOUBA QADRIYA JAKHANKE.

Touba, and its group,—much weakened since 1911 by the arrest, in that year, of its head, Karamokho Sankoun, was, during the 19th century, for all Fouta, the metropolis of Islamic studies.

Touba, on the northern border of Fouta Jallon, with Kankan on the Milo tributary of the Niger, on the East, were the two holy cities of the land of Guinea.

There is nothing Fula about Touba :—a town established and peopled by Jakhanke a sub-division of the Serakhule branch of the Mandingo speaking peoples. For this very reason Fula particularists would incline to hold it suspect. However, even they were obliged to bow to the authority and real scholarship of the Touba theologians, and in consequence were wont to send there, throughout the 19th century, a number of their children to complete their studies.

* See Article 6 in No. XIX for previous chapters.

(i) ORIGINS.

A. Karam Ba. Touba was founded about 1815 by a Jakhanke pilgrim, Karamokho Ba, (the great teacher), better known under the shortened name, Karam Ba, and whose real name was Al Hadji Salimu.

His family had originated in the Bundu country on the South bank of the Senegal, and belonged to the Gassama clan.

Written tradition has it that his great grandfather Abdallah lived in Diksin Kome, a village situated where Khasso and Bundu countries meet. Abdallah and his son Fode Ture emigrated south to Tenda country and established themselves there at a village called Safalu. There, in the 17th century they died and were buried. Legend has it that Abdallah, better known as Mama Sambo, was a warrior chief of marauding banditti who, destroying many villages, founded many others, notably those which now bear the name of Wuli Sataru. Two of Abdallah's sons, Yusufu and Fode, who had studied under the greatest teacher of their time Hadji Salimou Suaré, were lettered men of note. Mama Sambo is supposed to have been of Arab origin (!) descended from Jabir ibn Abdallah of the hegiran epoch.

Fode Ture's son, Mamadou Fatouma, returned to Bundu country and there founded the village of Didé where he died (18th century).

Mamadu Fatouma's son, Karam Ba, was born at Didé about 1730. On the death of his father, about 1750, he abandoned Didé where his brother Jakha Salimu remained,—and went to Kenten in Yani country. There he studied Koranic exegesis with Sheikh Usman Deri.

Family tradition is very explicit about young Karam Ba's cycle of studies. We may as well cite it here as it throws a clear light on the life of an Islamic student in black Africa in the 18th century.

After a short stay at Didé, Karam Ba went to study the Précis of Khalil (Rissalat) at Kandjuru in the Khasso under Sheikh Ibrahima Jani Kandjuru Ba and the Maghamat of Hariri under Fode Khassané Kaku. Then he went to Junburu where Fode Omaru Ture taught him grammar. At Barhuna (Baghna) he studied theology. Then the Fikhi, with Hassana the Fula, and then the five books of Sanusi with Fode Bakar Dibakiti, whom he accompanied on his return to Jenné, where, in this Islamic centre, Karam Ba completed his superior studies. He attached himself

to a professor of great renown, Alfa Nouhou, a Fula of Masina origin, and he had also as teachers :—Alfa Hatibou, who taught him the *Chifa* of *cadi* Aiad and the *Sahih* of Bokhari ; Alfa Raha who taught him the science of the magic squares ; Umaru Nahouni who taught him Arabic grammar and language ; Mamadu Tumaju, Mamadu Kharachi, Mamadu Roulli, Mamadu Kamissatu, Mamadu Taslimiu—the last named after the village of Taslima which he had established in the Jenne country and which owed its prosperity to his reputation for saintliness. This Mamadu Taslimiu went back some years later to the Masina country and founded there another village called also Taslima. Tradition has it that Karam Ba's teachers at Jenne numbered altogether eighteen, which really means to say that he had followed the courses of all the learned men of the country. When he left the town he had the reputation of “ knowing fully forty sciences ”.

Karam Ba then went to the sacred town of Kankan, where he remained three years and then went to Timbo where he stayed a year and secured the confidence of the Alimamis of Fouta. His studies at length were complete ; they had lasted thirty years ; he then went to the Wura country and there with the permission of the chief of the Labe diwal—Modi Abdulai—he founded a village which he named Touba—about 1804.

After a stay there of some eleven years he found himself obliged to leave it, as the tribes of the Tenda region were continually raiding him and murdering many of his disciples. He therefore abandoned Touba which thereafter became referred to as Touba Koro (i.e. old Touba) and made a new residence in the Binani country further South and to the West of Labe. Here he founded a new Touba and this time, towards 1815, he settled finally. It was here that he died, about 1829, aged 99 years.

Karam Ba left twelve sons. Their numerous progeny constitute nowadays the main element in the population of Touba. They have besides spread abroad into Portuguese and English parts of Guinea as well as into the Senegal province of Casamance. These 12 sons were :—

1. Mamadu Kabir .. sons: Karamokho Bamba, K. Khi-raba, M. Nahoui, K. Bambo, M. Fadinden
2. Mamadu Jakhaka sons: M. Lamin, K. Kantuni, M. Baltoul, K. Gemu.
3. Mamadu Sanusi .. sons: K. Babaki, K. Setamura Bamba, K. Saquali Bokari, K. Modi Wulen.

4. Mamadu Kasso .. sons: K. Bamba, Ibrahima Sharif, Brahim, Mamadu, Cheik Aquilu, Diakhaku Sanusi, Mukhtar, K. Alfara, Fode Ba, Suwaru, M. Ture, Al Gassima.
5. Mamadu Bokari .. sons: Ha Jenaba Stafa, Sunbundu Karanba, Madi Ba, Baba, M. Lamin, Samba Ture, Moktahr, M. Khalifa, M. Kasso, M. Ndou.
6. Mamadu Taslimou ob. 1848. 15 sons amongst whom his successor Karamokho Qutubu ob. 1905.
7. Mamadu Siri .. son: Nasun Lamin.
8. Mamadu Kamissatu sons: Karamba Den, M. Ngarou, Dris Jenika.
9. Mamadu Kharissi .. no posterity.
10. Mamadu Rolli .. no posterity.
11. Mamadu Tomadio .. no posterity.
12. Mamadu Bounali .. sons: Baba, Sankoun Ba, Wujendi, Mamadu, Sanusi.

On the death of Karam Ba, it was his sixth son who inherited his father's spiritual influence.

B. Karamokho Taslimou. This son of Karam Ba had an Islamic name Mohammed Taslimi and was known also under the name of Karamokho Sankoun. He was born at Kankan about 1800 at the time his father was completing his studies. The son followed the father throughout all his latter peregrinations and finally at Touba settled down to the sage life of a student.

So well established had his learning and saintliness become that quite naturally, although only a sixth son he became religious head of the already flourishing group at Touba—about 1829. He was a professed teacher but he did not attempt to spread the Jakhanke Qadria “way” outside the limits of the group. During 20 years he led a retired life at Touba and only once left it to travel to the Sahel (the part of the Mauritania on the North bank of Senegal from Kayes westward to the Atlantic) where he received initiation into the Qadri confession of faith and spiritual method (OUIRD) first from Sheikh Abd’-el-Latif of the Kounta tribe, and then from Mohammed el Khalifa son of Sheikh Sidia Al Kebir among the Wulad Biri group of Trarza Moors.

Karamokho TASLIMOU left fifteen sons, of whom the fifth and most brilliant, Karamokho Qutubu, was destined to be his father's successor.

C. *Karamokho Qutubu*.—Karamokho Qutubu, whose proper name was Abd-el-Qader, was born about 1830 a year after the death of his grandfather, Karam Ba. He followed a complete course of study at Touba under his father and uncles.

His father before his death had conferred on him the Qadria initiation, but the son got it confirmed by Sheikh Sidia Al Kebir during a journey to Mauritania about 1860, in the course of which he subjected himself to a "retreat" of three weeks sitting at the feet of the great Sheikh who was then at 'N'Tourirja.

On his return to Touba the young theologian was immediately accepted as leader in view of his learning his virtues and his talent for command.

Under his pontificate of half-a-century (1860-1905), Touba flourished incomparably. Students flocked there from all parts of the world and merchant-missionaries (dioula) carried the "Good Word" into all the three Guineas, and Islamic studies were there greatly developed. Touba became more than ever the holy city of the entire region.

As a result the divine earned the name under which he became later known—Karamokho Qutubu—meaning "Pole of Islam"—axis around whom turned the world of Muslim faithful—his contemporaries.

Karamokho Qutubu was a learned man. He composed fifteen works on grammar, law, theology, hymns in praise of the prophet, in Arabic.

The Labe chiefs held the Karamokho in high esteem. Several times he made use of his religious character to act as mediator in their internal disputes and brought peace negotiations to a successful issue. Alfa Yaya, notably, after 1897, when through the Karamokho's intervention Yaya's son Modi Agibu made submission to his father, became a warm friend of the marabout. It will be remembered that Alfa Agibu, in order to secure his own chances of succession to his father Chief Alfa Yaya, had assassinated his own brother. Furious, the father marched against his son at the head of a small column from Kade, and Agibu raised his own partizans to offer resistance and advanced against his father. Alfa Yaya was at Touba, and Agibu at Toubande and hostilities between father and son appeared imminent, but the Karamokho interposed himself and by softening the father and leading the son to submit prevented the conflict, for which action Alfa Yaya ever afterwards evinced a sincere gratitude.

It was towards the year 1900 that the French, whose influence was progressing in Fouta Jalon, came in contact with the people of Touba. The first interviews were somewhat frigid, and the Jakhanke, Karamokho Qutubu at their head, did not disguise their displeasure at the installation of an administrative post in their midst. Little by little however the ice melted, and Karamokho Qutubu was the first, as from 1903, to bring his dependents to the post and to enter into good relations with French authority.

(ii) KARAMOKHO SANKOUN.

Karamokho Qutubu died in 1905 leaving nine sons ; Karamokho Madi, Karamokho Sankoun, Karamokho Walo, Bekkai, Karamokho Khalifa (ob. 1912 in Gambia), Karamokho Khiraba, Ba Lamine, Karamokho Mottari (ob. 1910), Modi Fatouna.

It was his second son, Karamokho Sankoun—name in Islam, Mohammed Taslimi—who inherited his spiritual influence. This “surname” of “Sankoun” which in Jakhanke dialect signifies “rain” is usually given by the popular voice to those whose generosity and charity are famous.

Karamokho Sankoun was born about 1860. His mother was Fatumata Ibrahima, known as “Fanta” and he had no full-brothers. Two of his full-sisters, Khadijatu Bingi and Aissatou Bingi, still live at Touba, wives of two Jakhankes and mothers of families.

He married four wives : 1. 'Ngadi, daughter of a Jolof of Kakande who gave him two daughters :—Mariama, (so called in honour of the mother of Sheikh Sidia) and Majuba (in honour of the grandmother of the same Sheikh) ; 2. Jankemba, daughter of the chief of Touba,—Karamokho Dauouda ; 3. Fanta Kaba, daughter of a Jakhanke of Touba, and mother of his two eldest sons ; 4. Ummuna, likewise a daughter of a Touba Jakhanke and mother of his third son.

Later on, sometime after Karamokho Sankoun's political imprisonment in exile, two of these women learning that their husband's absence was likely to be of long duration, asked for and obtained their independence ;—only Fanta Kaba and 'Ngadi have remained faithful to him and are still (1921) waiting for him.

His sons are :—1. Alfa Umarou, born about 1900 who lived with his uncles of Pakao (Casamance) from 1912–1915 and then passed a year of study (1915–1916) with the Tidjani marabouts of Bathurst Gambia, at the school run by Makumba Thiam. Alfa Umarou rejoined his father at Dakar in the spring of 1916; 2. Sori Ba, born about 1905; and 3. Ba Fode, born about 1907, both of them wide-awake youngsters who are still (1921) at the wooden tablet stage under the tutelage of their uncle, Karamokho Madi, at Tabou.

Karamokho Sankoun made both his Koranic and superior studies at the feet of his father Qutubu. He completed them with a course of “Kabalistics” and of divination with a reputed master of these arts, Karamokho Sakho, who died in 1895.

As soon as all these studies of his were over, he opened an Arabic school at his home, and this school soon prospered. Seeing how successful he was, his father was not long in handing over to him the greater part of his “superior instruction” classes. His reputation as a saint and a master grew throughout Fouta and the Touba people rejoiced, says tradition, to see growing up by the side of Karamokho Qutubu, a worthy successor.

From 1890 to 1905 his audience was composed of no less than 200 student disciples, not Jakhankes only but also Fulas from all parts of Fouta, and Mandingoes from Ngabou (Portuguese Guinea) and from Casamance.

By him at this period, initiation into the Qadri path—which he himself had received from his father—was conferred on numerous disciples and through them his renown was still further extended throughout the land.

From time to time Karamokho Sankoun made numerous pastoral journeys for the purposes of procuring financial resources, visiting his adherents, distributing affiliations into “the way” and pursuing his task of Islamic preaching.

All Western Guinea, from the Casamance to Konakri was his zone of action. In all this region, even among the adherents to rival banners, even amongst the pagan tribes, he was very well known and very popular.

Frequently he journeyed to the Rio Nunez, Boke, Kakande, and Boffa on the Rio Pongo, to Konakri and to Kindia, carrying his gospel and collecting the offerings of the local Jakhanke colonies and their disciples.

His relations with Alfa Yaya were excellent ; we have elsewhere explained why Sankoun contained the traditions of fidelity and loyalty held by the Touba people towards the Chiefs of the country. Touba, situated as it was between the two capitals of the country—Labe and Kadé—and peopled by immigrants, would indeed have found difficulty in sustaining a personal and hostile policy towards the Fula power. She did not try to do so and her directors kept her to the role of Islamic metropolis and of commercial centre. Alfa Yaya, who thought a lot of Karamokho Sankoun, and whose prodigality towards religious leaders was notorious, showed himself very liberal towards the marabout.

In 1909 Sankoun paid a visit to Sheikh Sidia in Mauritania. He travelled by sea from Konakri to Dakar, reached Podor by the ordinary route and passed a whole month at Sheikh Sidia's residence at Boutilimit. His desire was that the initiation into the Qadri "path" which the Sheikh's grandfather had given to Karamokho Qutubu in 1860 and which he, Sankoun, had received from his father Qutubu, might be confirmed to him the son, by direct laying-on of hands by that Sheikh's present descendant. Sheikh Sidia received him with great honours and confirmed on him anew the affiliation to the spiritual line of Sidi Abd el Kader el Dj'ilani, the founder of the Qadri order. The Sheikh made gifts of Arabic books to him. They parted on the best of terms, and it seems evident that the Sheikh did not forget his visitor, for, some months later when Sankoun fell into political disgrace with the French Guinea authorities, the Sheikh, quitting his habitual reserve in such matters actually made a gesture of intervention with the authorities in defence of his Jakhanke disciple and friend.

In the visit above described, Karamokho Sankoun was accompanied by his brother Khiraba and by some of his own disciples.

Up to the last moment Sankoun was much appreciated by the different administrators commanding the Touba post and who were in close contact with him. As a religious personage and as a Musulman adviser, and as a president of the Touba tribunal, he rendered them valuable services.

From 1910 onwards, however, a complete change of policy towards Islam on the part of the colonial authorities made itself felt in Guinea. Sankoun's numerous and frequent journeys through the coastal regions and especially in the Kindia "Cercle" and in the neighbourhood of the Goumba missidi, his relations with all the heads of the various Islamic groups in Guinea, and the friendly relations that he renewed—without secrecy—with Alfa Yaya on the return of that ex-chief of Labe to Konakri after liberation from internment in Dahomey, the tendencious and more-

over lying stories spread by Abdul Bakar, ex-chief of the Landoumas, about him, as well as those related by Kali Salifu son of the Nalou chief and at that time interpreter to the Governor of Guinea; all these symptoms and all these facts of small importance combined to make the Administration apprehensive and anxious with regard to Touba. In the correspondence and exchange of messages between the political chief and the great marabout the government thought it saw signs of a coming insurrectional movement and believed it had discovered the participation therein of the Jakhanke clergy.

Moreover, although Karamokho Sankoun himself was too intelligent and too familiar with the realities of the situation to compromise himself really and openly in such a grave matter, nevertheless he had some very compromising agents, disciples and friends such as Modi Oumarou Bella of Binani, Jamilatou Syeku of the Fofanas—palaverous and vain persons, both of them—who irresponsibly were upsetting the country and publicly expressing regrets at the passing of Alfa Yaya's regime and boldly making complaints about the French and accusing them as the responsible authors of the material and social misfortunes of the Jakhanke.

On all these grounds, and as the Goumba difficulties appeared incapable of solution on pacific lines, energetic action was resolved upon. Alfa Yaya, his son, and his counsellor, were incarcerated at Konakri on 9th February, 1911; and immediately afterwards it was decided to bring to justice on one and the same day the marabouts both of Goumba and of Touba—30th March, 1911.

Hardly one month prior to his arrest Sankoun received a prolonged visit from the Administrator of the Touba Cercle who found everything perfectly normal in the local situation. During an exchange of salutations and sympathies Sankoun made the Administrator a present of a little historical memoir relating with remarkable precision the rise and fall of the great marabouts and conquerors of the past, in Senegal, in Soudan and in Guinea. Herein he formulated his conclusions which were imbued with loyalty and moreover remarked that were it not dictated by natural sympathy it would still be for him a necessity of logic and of history.

On the 30th March the Administrator Liurette, commanding the Kade Cercle, seconded by a detachment of 40 Tirailleurs Senegalais carried out the arrest of Sankoun, of Ba Gassama and of Jamilatou Syeku. Ba Gassama—various indications of whose projected flight the authorities thought to have discovered—had been placed under guard at the post the evening before. No incident of any sort occurred.

The evening before, feeling that trouble was toward—Karamokho Sankoun had visited, accompanied by a hundred or so of pilgrims, the burial place of his father, Karamokho Qutubu, protector of the city. During the night this same manifestation was renewed with the participation this time of several thousand natives, whilst the drums sounded mournfully calling the descendants of Karam Ba to propitiatory prayers.

One man of note, Jamilatou Syeku, head of the Fofana-Kunda group, friend of long date and commercial partner of Ba Gassama, went about making violent speeches against the French, foreshadowing the imminent return of a great native chieftain who would restore to the masters their slaves and would constitute himself the protector of the Jakhanke.

On the morning of the 30th the elders who had been ordered to come to the post were led there by Sankoun himself. The imprisonment of Sankoun and Ba Gassama was at once ordered and the over eloquent Jamilatou was included with them.

Search warrants led to the seizure at the homes of the accused, of about 50 cap guns, and, in the whole region, of about 775 flintlocks, a fact which had nothing extraordinary about it seeing that the population of Guinea has never been disarmed and that moreover any religious manifestation by these people is always accompanied by an enormous consumption of gun-powder. As for European arms, all that was found were two Portuguese rifles and four double-barrelled shot guns all of which were in the possession of Modi Umarou Binani a licensed trader in such.

The whole proceeding took place amid the greatest calm, and the Jakhanke, who are merchants and marabouts rather than warriors, allowed this act of force against their spiritual leader to be carried out without protest. Except for Ba Gassama's friend no one even lifted his voice.

The prisoners were at once taken to Konakri. A Governor General's Order, dated 21st June, 1911, condemned them to ten years internment at Port Etienne on the Atlantic coast of Mauritania and thither they were immediately transported. At Port Etienne they found themselves companions of misfortune with Modi Agibu, son of Alfa Yaya, and with the exiled faithful of the Wali of Goumba.

All these internees behaved themselves very well in exile. From the outset Sankoun commanded the respect of all and was from that moment considered as the religious head of the little colony of deportees.

It was perhaps wrong that no one should have taken the trouble to let the Commandant at the Baie du Levrier (Port Etienne) know the status of the Karamokho and his past and the possibilities of his future. Subjected to the heavy task of stone-breaking and to labour on earthworks he was at once found to be incapable of supporting this regime, and his comrades in misfortune, touched by and respectful of the old man's plight, at once and unanimously abandoned to him the task considered the easiest at the post; the emptying of the latrine buckets! The incident is both moving and painful to record!

By what chain of circumstances was it possible that we should have made of the amiable marabout and conciliatory magistrate of Touba a Port Etienne exile? The causes of it were multiple. The first of them was subjective and was above all else the anxiety that spread itself through all the ranks of French Guinea authority as the events of Goumba followed one another swiftly. This fear of an Islamic peril was going to lead the local administration to what has since been called "the Saint Bartholomew of the marabouts." The Government went so far as to declare officially that "An understanding had been come to between the principal marabouts to group all Muslim forces—notably between Tyerno Aliyhu of Goumba, Karamokho Sankoun and Karamokho Ba Gassama of Touba, Tyerno Aliyhu Bouba Jong of Labe, and Karamokho Dalen of Timbo." This was in truth, imagination, pure and simple. What authority was seeking to do through an irrational feeling of fear was to make a catch, with a simple cast of net, of all and every of the Islamic leaders in Fouta. Happily the measures at one time envisaged were not proceeded with to their bitter end.

The arrest of Sankoun was a direct consequence of the Goumba affair. Sankoun was in fairly continuous relations with the Wali, they exchanged presents as do all native personalities. Courteous letters also they exchanged as two neighbouring and rival pontiffs have to do in order to avoid polemics between their learned professors and collisions between their student disciples. These good relationships however were common in the Fouta maraboutic world. All these personages knew each other perfectly well, had seen one another, were in the habit of writing letters and of sending messengers. And this instinct for sociability, this need of escape from a narrow horizon is not one of the least significant characteristics of the Fouta collectivity. It is indeed by such qualities that it may be differentiated from the negro social entities surrounding it which remain always confined to their own small groups, to the limits of their villages, or of their chiefdoms.

Sankoun, far from hiding such relations, had always kept the Touba Administrator informed of them. He showed him the letters he received from Goumba.

With much cleverness, moreover, it was contrived to make a seizure of all this correspondence on the arrest of Sankoun ; it revealed nothing more than exchanges of politenesses, information as to current market prices for rubber, rice and millet, woman palavers, and affairs of domestics, etc. When one has added to such the innumerable talismans, gri-gri and amulets, the sum total revealed nothing that can be described as very compromising.

There was therefore, in reality, no understanding on the part of the Touba Jakhanke to participate in any insurrectional movement. How would the brothers and disciples of Sankoun not have been mixed up in it ? How could the village chief and his men—all members of the Zauwia—have abstained ?

It would appear simply that the religious chiefs of Touba were attainted as a preventive measure simply for the purposes of intimidation.

There is nothing surprising therefore that the arrest of Sankoun should have caused great surprise to those Administrators who during long tours in charge of Touba Cercle had had close dealings with him. And one can understand in the same way that five years later those who were commanding in the region and carried out the arrest and who in consequence were the most interested in seeing disappear an element of trouble—these very people declare that they were merely carrying out orders for which no proposal or suggestion on their part was responsible.

One must however recognize that from 1908 to 1911 there were in the Touba region, motives susceptible of arousing the anxiety of the administration and that these anxieties were more objectively grounded than in mere vague islamo-phobia.

The liberation of slaves had caused the almost complete economic ruin of the Jakhanke. They lost thereby their household servants, their commercial employees and their farm labourers. In a single day this lettered class, who had very well organised their life as intellectuals and "priests"—based on the labour of their slaves—found themselves utterly deprived of all their resources, and they had to abandon both prayers and studies, and start earning their means of livelihood by manual labour. But this dispersion of servile castes into the new "Liberty" villages, and the exodus of slaves from Fouta towards the upper Malinke region, or towards the coastal belt from which they had originated, had other consequences which had not been foreseen. The Jakhanke had chosen in the families of their servitors quite a number of the latter's daughters, and had admitted these to their couch, either as proper wives, or else as concubines. They had

had children by them. When the slaves started returning to their places of origin they took their daughters with them and evidently these mothers took their children also. To the material losses of the Jakha ke, to the upsetting of their social and intellectual life, was added in many cases the breaking-up of their hearths and homes.

There was therefore a certain amount of unrest in Fouta, and the leaders of native society did not conceal their complaints and their recriminations. There were meetings and discussions, in Fouta first of all, and then in the Landouma (upper Rio Nunez between Boke and the Portuguese frontiers) area. It was proposed and attempts were made to solve the slave problem by kindness and persuasion, coaxing them individually to return and live with their masters. This had no success. After further debates it was decided to send a collective petition to the Governor at Konakri, to ask him for a compromise arrangement, and to order the slaves to work for their old masters two or three days a week for two or three transition years. In order the more surely to convince the Governor, handsome presents were even got together. But this attempt was cut short, as authority invited the assembly to disperse and return home before their project could be executed.

It is therefore easy to understand that a great "lord of the church" like Karamokho Sankoun was profoundly affected by this misfortune to himself and his flock. Deprived of his material resources, how could he feed the hundreds of students and disciples—the fine flower of his University of Touba? He was a helpless spectator of his own ruin and that of his people, of the downfall of Touba, and of the dispersion even of essential elements of his own household. It is not difficult to admit that he had thus been led to ill-disposition towards the French, to uncomplimentary remarks concerning their administration, and a smouldering sense of hostility. It cannot be disputed either, that the return of Alfa Yaya, which we had ourselves brought about,—his intrigues, his promises and the agitation kept up by his partizans, had somewhat aroused the hopes of the Jakhanke. To them a return to the old regime seemed the ideal solution of their present difficulties. Alfa Yaya, friend and protégé of the French, but lord and master inside his own diwal would re-establish serfdom, bring back things to their old ordained state, and be once more the magnificent patron and protector of his friends, the Touba clergy. The echo that resounded from the Jakhanke side to the actions and intrigues of the ex-chief of Labe, was one of the main causes of the indisposition of the Government of Guinea towards them. In spite of this however an understanding could doubtless have been effected. Had the exodus of slaves been wisely controlled and directed—and this would have been in their own interest—the transition from the

old to the new state of society could have been made very much less catastrophic to the people of Touba. The punishments meted out to the Wali of Goumba and to Alfa Yaya might have sufficed as examples and would certainly not have failed to recall the pacific Jakhanke to the path of wisdom. Moreover there was the powerful lever of the political fund available, and this has always proved effective in the maraboutic "milieu", and besides in this case there were especially good reasons for its utilization seeing that it was the regulations brought into being by the Government itself against slavery that had directly and deliberately caused ruin to the notable families, trouble in native society, and the general unrest that was disturbing public tranquillity.

But the decision to adopt the method of the strong hand gained the day. The difficulties that it was feared would be arising at Goumba prevented or left insufficient time for any attempt at methods of conciliation with regard to Touba. Karamokho Sankoun was heavily punished as a result both of his own attitude of protest and of the anxiety that Islam was then causing the Government. Ba Gassama, a very influential man of note at Touba shared his misfortune—the words of Horace being always true that "With or without discernment the thunderbolt strikes both the hill summit and the tree growing on its slopes."

Karamokho Sankoun's lot has since been softened. He is to-day in obligatory residence at Dakar and lives there in semi-liberty.

(iii) THE FAMOUS MEN OF TOUBA.

The principal Jakhanke marabouts at Touba, other than Karamokho Sankoun—who left it in 1911), are :—

A. Karamokho Madi, son of Karamokho Qutubu. His name in Islam is Mamadu Mariliu, i.e. Mohammed al Marili. He was born at Touba about 1855, and studied there, and afterwards served there as a teacher. After the arrest of Sankoun he took over the spiritual directorship of the group. He is a reserved and quiet old man, enjoying considerable respect and esteem, but he is far from having the prestige and authority of his father or of his brother. His learning does not appear very developed, and he has no acquaintance with his father's books and library, the volumes of which have remained for several years piled up in one of the huts. He can only with difficulty sustain a conversation in Arabic (classical) and the faults of pronunciation and his senile

stuttering still further complicate any attempt to do so. He keeps a school of about twenty pupils of all ages, teaching the Koran to the younger ones and the rudiments of exegesis and of law to the eldest. He has a dozen children, four of whom are boys. Karamokho Madi was in no way mixed up—even indirectly, in the Goumba affair. When his brother was arrested, he preached in favour of calm and order. His pacific attitude and sensible words did much to dissipate unrest and to restore tranquillity.

B. Karamokho Walo, was born about 1865, full brother of Karamokho Madi. He appears to be the most learned of the Touba marabouts. He has written several works in prose and verse in Arabic, and can carry on easily a conversation in that language.

C. Karamokho Khiraba, another son of Karamokho Qutubu, born about 1885, also a well lettered man who is a teacher at the Touba Zauwia.

D. Modi Fattouma, a brother of Khiraba. He travelled to Mauritania in 1909 in company of his father.

E. Karamokho Ba, Bakkai, and Ba Lamin, other sons of Kharamokho Qutubu have been settled for some years at Sedhiou and Pakao on the Casamance river where they are Koranic school teachers and amulet-merchants.

F. Karamokho Seku and Anfa Modi, both of them sons of Karamokho Baba, and grandsons of Mamadu Sanusi third son of Karam Ba. They are "men of letters", farmers and notabilities of Touba.

G. Their cousin, Karamokho Daouda, son of Karamokho Demba, son of Karamokho Sanusi. Daouda, born about 1860 is the chief of Touba village. He is relatively unlearned but by his energetic temperament and strength of character he has imposed his authority over this restive maraboutic population. Daouda is helped by his cousin, Bembo, son of Nahoui, son of Mamadu Kabir, eldest son of Karam Ba. Bembo is Daouda's counsellor and agent.

H. Sankoun, Kandioura, Bemba and Sori Ba, all four sons of Karamokho Umarou, son of Mamadu Tassilimou, are farmers, men of note, and Karamokhos of some worth.

I. Karam Ba Gema, born about 1875, son of Karamokho Jemmou, son of Mamadu Jakhaka, second son of Karam Ba. An amiable man and broad-minded. One of the most learned men of Touba. He gives instruction on various subjects to about 20 scholars and one can judge by the progress of his pupils what an excellent and learned master they have.

J. Mamadu Khalifa Gassama, born about 1865, and who died in 1914. He had left about 1900 for a long journey of study in Senegal and in the Sahara, and had followed the courses given by the learned doctors of Dakar and Saint Louis, and had passed several years in the Sidia encampments in Mauritania and those of the Kounta around Timbuktu. He returned to Touba in 1911. These travels formed his character and developed his learning. Having a talent for intrigue he appeared destined to make a place for himself in the Touba clerical world. Death put an end to his projects. He left several young children.

K. Fode Ba, born about 1878, son of Karamokho Ba and grandson of Karamokho Tassilimou. A man of learning who has a class of about twenty scholars.

L. Ba Gassama, born about 1860, son of Ba Kadai. At Touba, Ba Gassama was at the head of the clique hostile to the sons of Qutubu. He was at daggers drawn with most of the Jakhanke families. He had even taken away by force one of his daughters, married to Sankoun and brought about a divorce from her husband, for no other reason than delay in the payment of dowry. In 1910, finding life at Touba impossible, he left it and settled himself at Nata a village some seven miles S.E. of the holy town. The Jakhanke still bear him malice and his return from Port Etienne is not in any way desired. His arrest brought about his ruin, for his wives have scattered and married again and his property has been more or less confiscated by his neighbours and enemies. His sons, the eldest of whom, Ba Kadai, is (1920) 15 years of age, are at Touba. Ba Gassama is a man of sound education but troublesome and interfering by temperament.

These are the outstanding figures among the Jakhanke population of Touba. They have all received affiliation to the Qadriya order or from his sons Sankoun or Modi.

(iv) TOUBA.

Karam Ba's installation at the spot where later the town of Touba was built, dated from about 1815. Seven years later, about 1822 he erected a superb mosque which has lasted throughout the 19th century.

This name of Touba is an Islamic reminiscence. Touba is the name of a tree in Paradise, the shade of which covers so vast an area that a galloping horseman would take five hundred years to cross it. In his "Orientales" Victor Hugo alludes to this tree, and his illustrious mention has rendered this poetic image popular in our literature.

Touba, according to the Koran is the blessed sojourn of those who believe and have been virtuous. It is natural that a pious marabout should give this sanctified name to his village, and to cause his disciples thus to hope that having inhabited an earthly Touba, they might later reach the heavenly one. That is why localities of this name are very numerous in West Africa.

The Jakhanke Touba spreads itself along the banks of the Koumba—as the upper reaches of the river are called—and lies about midway between Labe and Kade. Nowadays it is within the limits of the Koumbia Cercle. The administrative post which formerly (1902–1912) existed at Touba, has been abandoned.

In the time of its splendour and when the teaching of Karamokho Qutubu was at the highest of its brilliance, Touba consisted of several thousand houses and had about 7,000 inhabitants. This prosperity lasted till 1908. From this date onwards—the date of the freeing of the slaves—the town declined rapidly and lost half its population, either by the dispersion of the slaves themselves with their families, or because the masters themselves have been obliged to spread out into hamlets in the neighbourhood in order to cultivate the soil for themselves, or have left to turn themselves into traders and seek their fortune in all parts of Guinea.

The population of Touba at the present moment does not exceed three thousand. The little round Jakhanke houses have closed up their diminishing ranks according to the custom of this people, and huddle together in a space ever more restricted. A kilometre now separates the inhabited town from the site of the old Administrative post, and even in the town itself there are vacant sites still unoccupied. The one time rival of Kankan and of Konakri has much decayed.

The arrest of Karamokho Sankoun gave it its quietus. Many talibé from foreign parts returned to their homes, fleeing this storm centre of administrative severity. All the present day Touba-kai (“Kai” both in Susu and Jakhanke signifies “inhabitants of”) are Jakhanke, and belong in great part to the Gassama clan, of which Karam Ba, the ancestor, as well as his servants and clients, were members.

The mosque at Touba is one of the largest and most celebrated in Fouta. Built in 1822, by Karam Ba and restored, half a century later by Karamokho Qutubu, it appears today (1921) a little the worse for wear and requires serious renovations. In contrast to most of the Fouta mosques which are circular, that of Touba is rectangular with slightly rounded corner angles. As everywhere

else the roof is of thatch. The over-hanging thatch descends to close to the ground level and covers a veranda which shelters the tombs of the two first ancestors, Karam Ba and Karamokho Tassilimou. Adjoining the mosque a small round house has been built as a mausoleum sheltering the tomb of the great Karamokho Qutubu. These tombs however are not the object of any special veneration and nobody makes pilgrimage to visit them, nor are any sacrifices performed at them. In this the Jakhanke do not differ from other black races and the veneration shown towards the dead is confined to speeches about them. When the tomb of a saint or hero is known it does not become an object of any cultural manifestation.

As the town of Touba has decayed, so has its University. We are now far from the times when the Touba-Kai prided themselves on counting within their walls twenty-five eminent professors and more than three hundred students who had flocked thither from all parts of Guinea and of Casamance.

To-day, if Koranic study, concerned with the town's children, is still in honour, higher studies are far from being followed to the extent they formerly were. The sons of the well-to-do and of the clergy, who formerly were wont to consecrate their boyhood and adolescence to study are now obliged to start earning their living by farm-work or in commerce instead of devoting time to studies. The great majority of them cannot manage to pass the stage of reading through the Koran. One can hardly count more than about forty young men, who—the Koran completed—have embarked on the study of law, theology and grammar. Of this number a score are Jakhanke of the town, the others are either Mandingos of the most divers origins, from Portuguese Guinea, from Casamance, and from Senegal, from the upper Malinke country and from the Landouma-tai and the coastal belt.

These young men, whose ages are from twenty to thirty years, push their studies as far as their perseverance permits of—and it usually is not great—and then receive affiliation into the Qadriya order at their professor's hands, and return home to open at once their own Koranic school and of course the usual amulet-shop.

They enjoy there the prestige of the unknown, of the mystery of prolonged studies pursued in a distant land, and the popularity of a much revered initiation. Their learning however is in fact rudimentary and in spite of their ten, twelve, or fifteen years of scholardom, and of innumerable hours of poring over Arab authors, they hardly comprehend what they have been reading,

and are incapable of expressing themselves in any connected fashion even in elementary Arabic. The professors are descendants of Karam Ba and like all Jakhanke are partly marabouts and teachers and partly merchants. Their names have been cited above.

The University of Touba now sorely lacks the most learned and the most popular of its doctors, Karamokho Sankoun, and its only chance of revival would be if this, its "star" figure, were to be allowed to return.

In principle, teaching is free, but it is evident that the Touba-Kai would have to support both masters and pupils were it not for the fact that "foreign" students receive each year from their families subventions in kind, and share these with their teachers. At the end of their studies they acknowledge their debt to their "masters" and make them a very considerable present, and, usually pay them besides, a sum of money. During the course of their studies, in accordance with general usage, they work on their teacher's farms; and here, at Touba, with its atmosphere of commerce, some of them even accompany their teachers when these for the nonce turn "dioula" and undertake trading voyages.

The library of Karamokho Qutubu consists of 300 volumes piled into a dozen chests. Formerly it was more numerous and contained 500 volumes, say the learned. But termites have been at their work of destruction, and as since Sankoun's internment nobody takes much trouble about it, and as no one buys any fresh volumes to add to it, it becomes more reduced every day.

The books are mainly the classical works of Islamic studies. There is no remarkable volume meriting special attention. They are either manuscript copies of Saharan authors (Kounta, Wulad Biri, etc.) to whom the Touba-Kai are spiritually affiliated, or else the books are volumes published in Egypt or the Orient and which have been purchased from Moroccan or Syrian shop-keepers.

There are besides the following works composed by Touba marabouts themselves :—

A. By Karamokho Tassilimou.

1. Safinat-al-Khalas (prophetic lyricism).
2. Tanbih al-Assif ala Mawaria' at-talif (principles of literary composition).
3. Dakhirat al-mouhibb fi takhmis salat rabbi (prophetic lyricism).

B. By Karamokho Qutubu.

1. Tohfât as-soualîk fî ashraf al-masâlik (law).
2. Al-Morshid al Mofîd (law).
3. Al Mobahith al aslia (theology).
4. Roudhat al Moshtaq (prophetic lyrism).
5. Tohfât al Mardiat (grammar).
6. Wussila as Sibian (law).
7. Tabsirat al Omian (commentary on No. 6).
8. An Nobdat al Kafiat (law).
9. Al Wussila al Koubra (prophetic lyrism).
10. Kitab al Badia wu al maani wu al baian (rhetoric).
11. Raihat al Atar (law).
12. An Nobdah fi-l-mohtadhar (law).
13. Tohfât as Salik (law).

C. By Karamokho Walo.

1. Misbah al Masâlik (law).
2. Tanbih al Ahlâm (law).
3. Madârik al Ihsan (law).
4. Maqâlid al Fadhl (mystic).
5. Mikshâf al Ahzan (grammar).
6. Massâlik al Jinân (prophetic lyrism).
7. Nour al Dioun (prophetic lyrism).
8. Al Ilq an Nañ (prophetic lyrism).
9. Silouan al Morabbi (prophetic lyrism).
10. Zad al Maâd (prophetic lyrism).
11. At Tibr al Atiq.
12. Matâlia al Asrar (liturgy).
13. Ianbiâa al Anoudr (liturgy).
14. Haqaiq al Kamâlât (liturgy).
15. Konouz al Haqaiq (liturgy).
16. Bashair al Khaîrat (liturgy).
17. Miqbâs al Mourid (mystic).
18. Minhâj as Solouk (mystic).

The main distinguishing characteristic of the Touba Jakhanke group is its attachment to the Qadriya confraternity. That is its hallmark, its speciality. In a region where almost all the Fula Muslim are Tidjani, Qaderism became the distinctive sign by which a Jakhanke was recognized and by which they recognized one another. Here one may see an example of the rule general amongst black peoples that religious schools just fit the national framework and coincide with it.

It is to the Qaderism of the Kounta of Tumbuktu, through the Sidia Sheikhs, that this Guinea branch attaches itself. We give below the traditional spiritual "chain" which is held to connect Karamokho Qutubu, the initiator of the present grand-masters to Sidi Abd el Qader el Jilani—the Order's founder—and so even to Allah himself.

CHAIN. Allah : the pen, the writing board : the angel Gabriel ; the Prophet Mohammed, Ali son of Abu Taleb, Hassan el Basri : Habib Al Adjami : Daoud Tai : Maarouf Al Karkhi : Seri Seqti : Joneidi : Abu Bakr Shebli : Talhat Shenbaqi : Ali ben Abd el Wuafa : Sheikh Abd el Qader Jilani : Ali ben Hitta : Abd el Qahir Sohraverdi : Mohammed ben Al Arabi Al Hatimi : Abdes Salam ben Mashish : Aboul Hassan Shadeli : Mohammed Al Razali : Mohammed al Moshadali : Othman wuld Merzouq : Mohammed wuld Al Arabi : Abd er Rahman Taalabi : Abd er Rahman Soyouti : Mohammed Marili : Omar Sheikh : Ahmed Bekkai el Kounti : Mohammed Marili : Reggad : Ahmed el Kabir : Ali el Kounti : Ahmed el Kounti : Sidi Lamin el Kounti : Ali wuld Najib : Sidi Mukhtar el Kounti : Mohammed el Khalifa el Kounti : Sheikh Sidia Al Kabir : Abd el Latif el Kounti and Mohammed el Khalifa : Mamadu Taslimou : Abd el Qader of Touba (alias Karamokho Qutubu).

Put shortly, Qutubu was the disciple of his father Taslimou who during a voyage in the Sahara received initiation at the hands successively from Sheikh Abd el Latif el Kounti and from Sheikh Mohammed Khalifa of the Wulad Biri Moorish tribe. Mohammed Khalifa was the disciple of his father Sidi Al Kabir who definitely derived affiliation from the Kountas through Mohammed Khalifa el Kounti who died in 1825, and through his father the great Sheikh Sidi Al Mokhtar who died in 1811.

Instruction, which is wide-spread if not deep, in the Touba "milieu" is not only given in Arabic. The Jakhanke willingly employ their natural tongue to paraphrase and explain their sacred books. The Friday sermons are very often given in Jakhanke. This language is considered by them—if not the sacred language par excellence which is Arabic alone—yet as entitled to a place of honour within the purlieus of the sanctuary. They accord also a similar position to the Poul Poullé language whereas the Fulas do not reciprocate this courtesy and regard Jakhanke as on a level with the Bambara, that is to say, pagan, languages.

Trade in amulets, talismans and gree-grees of every kind flourishes at Touba exceedingly.

Instruction in the art and "science" of composing magical recipes takes a great place in the courses which are given there by the professors and it is mainly this branch of knowledge which is sought after by the foreign students who flock there. The most erudite and most saintly of the professors do not in the least disdain this source of revenue, and during his life-time Karamokho Qutubu had the reputation of being not only a great physician but a great "magician" as well. His sons continued in this tradition and since the departure of Karamokho Sankoun his brothers Karamokho Madi and Karamokho Wali have taken on the succession of this business.

It must not be thought that the religious head and the spiritual directors of the Touba Zauwia exercise any sort of absolute spiritual authority over those living under their jurisdiction, or that they meet with no contradiction or criticism. On the contrary it often happens that some of the richer and more influential and ambitious of the Karamokho refuse to recognize this moral yoke. This is the case for example with Ba Gassama's family the members of which are traditionally rebellious towards Qutubu's sons.

But on the whole it is rather of the apathy of the masses that the leading Karamokhos complain. The following example will serve to show the nature and the limits of their authority.

In 1904, Karamokho Qutubu, at that time enjoying the full prestige of his sanctity and of his age, tried for several months, but in vain, to have the town of Touba cleaned up, as it was full of filth, and a grave epidemic had in consequence broken out. To all his objurgations his flock answered with mere promises never followed by useful action. At last, fearing some thunderbolt on the part of Government authority, he decided one morning to betake himself to the village entrance followed by two of his faithful disciples and there himself and they to begin street-sweeper's work in person. Forthwith, at the sight, from every house rushed people falling at his feet and imploring his pardon. Back to his home in triumph they carried him whilst two hundred young men leaped to the task and within three days had turned the place into a veritable model of cleanliness and order.

The end of the story is that in consequence the epidemic soon died out and this was of course attributed to the "baraka" of St. Qutubu who thus rewarded the zeal and obedience of his "talibé" (disciples).

(v) THE WIDESPREAD INFLUENCE OF TOUBA.

All Jakhanke are more or less "jula" (itinerant traders). On all the highways and byways of Guinea they are to be met with either single individuals or in small groups.

They are moreover skilful cultivators, and their fields of millet, cotton, benniseed, fundi, okra and groundnuts are to be classed amongst the best looking and the most well kept. They therefore need to find markets and they do not hesitate to make long journeys from the interior to the towns along the coast from Ziguinchor in Cassamance to Freetown in Sierra Leone, carrying their own produce for sale in these markets.

It is through these trade journeyings and by the proselytism which more or less they always carry on—usually more than less, for the Jakhanke are ardent Muslimin—that their influence has spread to all four corners of the land of Guinea.

A. THE JAKHANKE COLONIES.

We must first mention these little groups of Jakhanke who have swarmed out from the Touba hive and have since developed elsewhere in autonomous fashion.

The following are the principal of these colonies, some of which are composed of several hundreds inhabitants:—(1) In the Koumbia Cercle, Toubandé (small Touba) two hours march from the metropolis, on the Dougaindabé—Labé road, an important small town where as in all Jakhanke centres, the masters' village and that of their former slaves and clients are separate but juxtaposed. The principal of these "Liberty" villages are Fumboya, Bako, Heremakono, Bereto, Dende Youmbi, Bendu etc.

The following Jakhanke personalities have established themselves at various places in the Koumbia Cercle: Karan Setafa born about 1875, Mamapou born about 1880, Sire Madi born in 1870, Sheku born in 1862. The first two belong to the Gassama family and have settled at Gallou Kadé. The two last are of the Turé clan and reside at Goubambelé. All four are pupils of Karamokho Dembo of Touba and disciples of Karamokho Mattar, grandson of Karam Ba. Karamokho Mattar came to Kadé about 1900 and taught there. He died in 1912 and is buried at Gallo Kadé.

In the Labé region are the following Jakhanke settlements : Touba Koto, Petoyembi and Soumma. At Soumma is an important personality—one, Karamokho Alfa, district chief, born about 1870, son of Fodé Irimakhan. The Jakhanke of Soumma are much devoted to religious matters and it was through his title as head marabout of the village that Karamokho Alfa was elevated to the position of district chief in 1906.

The late chief of Labé, Alfa Alimou, held Karamokho Alfa in high esteem and frequently consulted him over law cases, and also wore on his breast an amulet contrived by this marabout. Enjoying such high prestige Karamokho was one of the few who succeeded, in spite of their legal liberation, in retaining the greater number of his former slaves to work for him on his farms.

He has left a disciple of some worth at Petoyembi, Karamokho Suri (born 1860) of Jakhanke family, village chief and opulent marabout. Suri owns a small library of books of which he is very proud.

Other Jakhanke settlements are :—

1. In the region of Mali—Kelembo and Medina-Kouta.
2. In the Koin diwal—Kessebe and Keléla.
3. In the Kolladé—Diga.

In all these villages it appears that the ancient ties which united masters to slaves, and which we somewhat brutally severed, tend nowadays to reform again but this time under a religious guise.

What has happened is that the Jakhanke marabouts who had offered the most lively and undisguised opposition to the departure of their slaves, have realized the hopelessness of such opposition, and have therefore changed their tactics.

Whereas formerly they would have refused to impart Koranic instruction to the children of slaves and freedmen, they have now become apostles to the "Liberty" villages, teaching the children and sowing the "good word", and even confer affiliation to the Qadriya "t'riq". The result has been that their ex-slaves have become their clients in religion, and once more wend their way towards their masters' door with presents in their hands. The ex-slave no longer obeys a master—he pays homage to a teacher.

There are other small Jakhanke settlements which may here be cited, namely those established in the Cassamance a quarter of a century or so ago by the sons and nephews of Karamokho Qutubu.

B. Qadriya groups in spiritual dependence on Touba

These groups are either only partly composed of Jakhanke elements, or else contain none whatever. Their affiliation to Touba is purely spiritual.

At Bissikrima in the Dinguiraye Cercle, there is the Malinké group led by the descendants of Jubba Alimami. This Jubba was a Serakholé from the *Jafunu country in Senegal who had settled at Bissikrima at the beginning of the 19th century. He died at Bissikrima about 1840 and his tomb is still there visible amongst high grass at the foot of a big tree.

He left a great number of sons who spread throughout the country and who, mingling with the Malinké and marrying with their women, left descendants who have become thus naturalized.

The eldest of these sons, Kankan Fode, founded a village Kankan Fodeïa, which at the end of last century acquired a certain importance, but has now decayed, most of its inhabitants having emigrated to Bissikrima-Gare, and Bissikrima-Kura.

The second son, Mori Sallou, was the father of Fode Yaya.

The third, Bouba, was the father of Fode Baba. Fode Yaya and Fodé Baba are the spiritual heads of the Malinké groups around the twin towns of Bissikrima. Both these personages are Qadriya of the Touba obedience.

They received affiliation into this confraternity in 1907 at the hands of a passing Jakhanke marabout—Alfa Ibrahima Gassama—a disciple of Qutubu. Both the cousins, who had not so far been received into the rite were so impressed, by the sanctity of the marabout, who only made a few months sojourn at Bissikrima, that they asked him to receive them amongst his spiritual children. They were thus by him consecrated “maqaddem” (leaders or superiors) in the order, and henceforth themselves distributed the “wird” (rite) to their own “talibé” throughout the region.

Fode Yaya, born about 1855, was in 1910 nominated village chief for †Bissikrima-Gare, which was then being erected.

His influence spread uncontested over the population of Yalunka and above all of Malinké race throughout the region. The arrival of immigrants and of “jula” traders of all origins, caused by the construction of the railway line, opened an era of difficulties.

* In the Saharan confines, North of Bakel on the Senegal River.

† One of the Stations on the Konakri-Niger railway between Mamou and Kouroussa

The establishment of labour camps aggravated these. Strangers to the country, these workmen and petty traders were bereft of any sense of discipline, and terrorised the native inhabitants, pillaging their farms, raping their women, and bullying the men themselves. This violence caused the exodus of the first inhabitants who removed themselves to a place on the Bouka stream, at the foot of the Balayan hills where they built another village, naming it Bissikrima-Kura (i.e. new Bissikrima).

Meanwhile the jula traders at Bissikrima rebelled against the authority of the Malinké chief and demanded autonomy under a chief chosen from amongst themselves (1913).

The snares they laid for Fode Yaya caused his fall. He was accused of illegal exactions as village chief, and as President of the Provincial Court, and in September 1914 he, was deposed, and later, in January 1915 sentenced to two years imprisonment by the Dinguiraye Provincial Court. The extent of his influence was shown on the 8th January 1915 when a violent manifestation broke out amongst his talibé at Bissikrima, ostensibly against the recruiting operations then taking place, but in reality as a mark of opposition towards his rival, the new chief Mokhtar Fal—a Jolof.† Various acts of indiscipline led to the arrest of twenty-two notable men—amongst them the sons, brothers, and principal disciples of Fode Yaya. They received various sentences of imprisonment which they underwent, along with Fode Yaya, himself, at Fotoba (*Iles de Los*).

The Koranic school at Bissikrima of which Fode was the director and which had a score of pupils, has remained closed since his departure.

Fode Yaya was not in the least an irreconcilable. Of moderate intelligence he appears to have only half understood the succession of unfortunate incidents of which he became the victim.

One of his sons who volunteered for service in the Tirailleurs Senegalais was wounded in action at the Dardanelles.

† I rather fancy that it was as a result of this disturbance that the well-known late Karamokho Ya Fode emigrated from Banko near Bissikrima into Koinadugu District, Sierra Leone, and established himself at Dar-es-Salaam. He was a Qadriya of SeraKolé-Malinké origin. He remained in Sierra Leone till about 1926-27 and then returned to Banko where he has since died. He had a very widespread reputation for saintliness, gifts of prophecy, healing and miracle working. On the whole his influence was good from an administrative and social aspect. E.F.S.

Fode Baba, his cousin, was born about 1863, at Kuku Tamba (near Timbo—Kolen province).

The wars between Fula and Houbbou constrained his family to emigrate towards Kouroussa in 1870. Young Fode made his studies there, but had once more to quit owing to Samory's incursions.

He then first of all settled at Bissikrima and on the arrival of the railway construction removed to Bissikrima-Kura. Now he lives in the "marga" (farming hamlet appurtenant to) of Souroumba, on the slopes of the Bissikrima-Kura hill.

Fode Baba's physical appearance is not attractive. He is of slight build and sickly looking and disfigured by an enormous goitre. Numerous scars and purulent vegetations would cause one to think him leprous.

But these infirmities in no wise prevent his getting about and visiting the whole region. The needs of his propaganda require that he should live on excellent terms with Ti-Dia, the chief of the Province of Ba'lo, in which he counts a certain number of disciples. He has others around Dabola, in the Farana Cercle and in that of Melikhure (in the Morekania Chiefdom of that Cercle).

His influence has not always been fortunate at Bissikrima-Kura. Persuaded by him, the village chief put all sorts of obstacles in the way of military recruitment during the Great War, and subsequently was in consequence deposed by Government. The marabout himself has been several times punished with disciplinary penalties, in 1914 for ill-disposed remarks about Frenchmen.

Fode Baba is well lettered. His course of studies was very complete and made of this Mandingo quite an erudite Arabist. We give a specimen of his correspondence in that language in annexe (*Not reproduced*. E.F.S.), of which the following is a translation.

"In the Name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful—
Praise be to Him, whose Empire endureth! Prayer
and benediction on (Mohammed) the best of His crea-
tures!

This writing is that of Fode Baba Daïti, and is addressed to the lord of this present era, to the chiefs of all the country, to the East and to the West, to right hand and to left hand. A thousand salutations to the Governor-General at Dakar—a thousand, suaver than musk, than amber, and than camphor.

I am in a perfect state of health ; doubtless you are in the same.

I pray God to bless you in your task of pacification of the country. May He, at every instant, every hour, prolong your life !

Peace be on him who follows the straight way ! ”

Besides being a teacher, Fode Baba follows the callings also of doctor and of amulet merchant, and these two last confer on him a lot of prestige even with the pagans of the region.

His principal disciple worthy of special mention, is Fode Billo, born about 1870 at Dara (Timbo). Billo is a Malinké settled in the Souroumba “ marga ” where he conducts a small Koranic school. He moves about quite a lot, half as “ jula ” trader, and half as mendicant marabout. He enjoys a certain consideration in the Bailo province and in the Bissikrima region.

In Lower Guinea, the influence of the Touba marabouts extends to the Kindia and Dubreka Cercles, to the town of Konakri and to the Rio Nunez Cercle.

The Kindia Cercle has for the last quarter of a century been the object of a steady proselytizing action by Jakhanke missionaries. If they have not succeeded in creating a centre as important as that of Goumba, yet they have managed to light a number of ardent foci of propaganda which are at work slowly but efficiently islamizing the Susu population.

The two principal centres of Qadri influence are *Dar-es-Salaam (Tamisso) and Kindia itself.

Dar-es-Salaam, in the canton of Bas-Tamisso was the creation of a Wulada Malinke, Fode Kaba. His father, Fode Bokari, left Kouroussa at the beginning of the 19th century, and came to the Melikhuré area as a Mohammedan “ jula ” trader. He settled at †Laya, near Forekaria, and died there about 1835.

Fode Kaba, having quitted Laya, founded, about 1880, the village of salvation (Dar-es-Salaam) in Tamisso, and opened there a Koranic school.

* Situated just beyond the Sierra Leone frontier to the North of Saionia in Tambakha Yobanji.

† On the Western bank of the Kolente River opposite Kukuna.

It was his eldest son, Fode Modu Siré, who made of this centre a renowned Zauwia, famous as a result of his "baraka" and his deep studies. He had received the Qadri "wird" from Karamokho Qutubu, and having been consecrated "moqaddem" he did not cease to propagate his "t'riq" in his turn. He died in 1915 leaving a town exceedingly flourishing from an Islamic point of view.

One could count there, from 1911 onwards, 14 schools and more than 100 pupils.

Dar-es-Salaam was already at that time considered as the second Musulman centre of the region, and since the destruction of that of Goumba, it has taken first place.

Fode Siré left a large family. His eldest son, Sougandi Darami is already a well-known personage, but the control of the Zauwia has remained in the hands of the brothers of the marabout, Fode Ansumani (who died about 1920), and Tyerno Ali his successor, Fode Salifou and Fode Morouba. A nephew also is worthy of mention—Fode Suleimana Darami, born 1884, a fairly competent scholar,—professor at the Zauwia.

The influence of Dar-es-Salaam has made itself felt first of all in the Tamisso chiefdom and has subsequently spread throughout the neighbouring parts of the Kindia Cercle and into the North-East part of the Sierra Leone Protectorate.

A subsidiary group is that of another Fode Kaba, at Tinko in the same chiefdom of Bas-Tamisso, a man of Malinké origin born about 1883, a pupil and disciple of Fode Sori uncle of Fode Modu Siré and employed by the latter as missionary. Fode Kaba has as pupils natives of the Sanou chiefdom (Kindia Cercle) and others from the Benna Chiefdom in the Forekaria Cercle.

Another such group is that of Karamokho Kherfala at Firi-giagbe, born in 1881 at Forekaria, a Susu by tribe. He received initiation into the Qadri rite at the hands of Modu Sire at Dar-es-Salaam.

There is also the group led by Karamokho Bassi, a Susu, who is the official Marabout of Alimami Amara (deceased circa 1926) the Chief of Bas-Tamisso, at Madina Wula (Customs Station on the Sierra Leone frontier N.W. of Saonia, Tambakha Yobanji. E.F.S.). Bassi was born at Laia (Forekaria Cercle) in 1879 and settled in 1909 in the Baring Chiefdom (Kindia Cercle) where he occupied himself as a "jula" and as schoolmaster. In 1911 he was appointed Secretary to the Kindia Provincial Court.

Other little Qadriya groups are those of Karamokho Fode Kamara at Kulukhure (Takhubéa) and of Mori Lai Turé at Fosi-khuré (Takhubéa) both of them Susus—the latter being the brother of Fode Kondeto, interpreter (1920....) for the Kindia Cercle.

Another group is that at Tänené Kéla, the best known members of which are: Kaliata Demba, born about 1847, uncle of Alimami Lai, and disciple of one Fode Musa; Fode Baturu Momodu; Karamokho Biri, 1850-1915, who left a numerous family, he also was one of Fode Musa's disciples. This Musa was of Malinké origin and was connected with Modu Siré at Dar-es-Salaam.

The Dar-es-Salaam centre, though situated in Susu country, has kept its Malinké aspect.

The Mandingo language is still spoken there and national usages preserved. Preaching is conducted in the same language, which here is regarded as a sacred one.

The other big centre of Touba Qadri influence in the Kindia Cercle is at the town of Kindia itself. It is split up into several little communities, the most important of which is that presided over by Fode Ansumana, as spiritual director.

Although the founders of this group were of Malinké origin they have been absorbed by their Susu environment and have adopted its customs and its language. But as Susu is considered a †profane language, a language of heathens, it is still in Malinké that the Friday sermon is preached and comments made on the Arabic religious texts.

Fode Ansumana's grandfather, Mamadu "Bitri" (the strong), belonged to the Mansare-Keita clan and had come down from Upper Manding in the Soudan at the beginning of the 19th century. He first started a Koranic school at Kankan, and later settled in Kindia, in the same profession, and there he died.

He left a son, Fode Musa, who continued the paternal tradition of missionary to the Susus and acquired a good deal of influence in their country, marrying Hauwa Silla, daughter of Alimami Kumba, thus becoming brother-in-law to Kaia Musa Chief of the Kanea Chiefdom who had married Binti Silla, Koumba's second daughter.

† "Firauna" is the word used—the language of the "enemy"—as the Semites must have held that of the Pharaoh's. By the up-country Muslim the coastal belt is likewise referred to contemptuously as "Makribi", locally signifying "pagan country", though the word is doubtless merely a corruption of "Maghreb", meaning the far West. E.F.S.

The son of Fode Musa and Hauwa Silla was Fode Ansumana, who was born about 1857 at Kindia. He has almost entirely lost trace of his Malinke origins and is to-day a real Susu. He continues however to give his commentaries on the Koran in the Malinké tongue. He was educated at Koïn in the Touggé Cercle (Fouta) under Fode Bokari Silla. His learning is however mediocre.

He runs a school having about 50 pupils, most of them Susu with a sprinkling of §Malinké. It is to be noted that Ansumana sent all his sons away to Dar-es-Salaam for their education, on the pretext that a father cannot properly train up his own children, and that, moreover, Kindia is a town of perdition for the youth of both sexes.

Fode Ansumana holds the office of Imam at the Kindia Mosque. Formerly president of the Provincial Court he is today an assessor of the court of the Kindia Cercle. He has four wives and a rather great number of concubines. His two eldest sons, Fode Bokari, born about 1885, and Fode Musa, born 1890, appear to have received an education superior to their father's, and to be also more broad-minded and progressive.

Fode Ansumana received affiliation into the Qadriya path and the power of conferring it, about 1890, from Fode Sheikhu, a Jakhanke missionary sent by Karamokho Qutubu of Touba to spread the Faith amongst the Susu.

Besides Fode Ansumana, his nephews Lahai Silla and Fode Musa are the most important personages amongst the Kindia Susu.

Lahai Silla, commonly called Manga Lai, or Alimami Lai, was born about 1871. He is a son of the Alimami of Kanea. His first appointment was as chief of the canton (chiefdom) of Wantambakiri, one of the divisions of the Kanea province. There he gave excellent service (1905). His jurisdiction was then extended over the entire province of Kanea, but he was unable to impose his authority over the other "canton" chiefs and when the province was broken up (1912) he became once more head of the Wantambakiri chiefdom. He is an amiable and entirely well disposed chief.

§ The French usually employ the term Malinké (plus Malinkéë) to designate a man of the "Mandingo" tribe. Malinké means a man of Mali (Mellé) which was the name of the antique Mandingo Empire. "Mandingo" is a corruption of Manding-ka or Manding-ke, which means a man from Manding. Locally at any rate, i.e. in the Sierra Leone Protectorate and its vicinity, the "d" in Mandinga is suppressed in pronunciation and one commonly hears Maninka. Manding is the geographical name for the region to the west of Siguiri, which for centuries has been the home (one of the homes) of people of Mandingo race. E.F.S.

He studied the Koran under his younger brother Fode Musa who conferred on him the Qadri affiliation. He has a dozen or so women in his compound and it is hard to say which are the legitimate spouses and which are merely his concubines—he is typical of the Susu—Muslim amalgam.

Fode Musa, his brother, born in 1885, made completer studies than he,—at the feet of the Dar-es-Salaam professors. Fode Musa carries on a fairly flourishing school at Tabuna near Kindia—on “co-education” lines—the pupils being half boys and half girls. Fode Musa, who is the Qadri “moqaddem” for the region, was received into the rite by Fode Modu Siré of Dar-es-Salaam—referred to *supra*.

The third of the Kindia Qadriya communities has as its director, Musa Silla, born 1880, son of Wunde Saion, son of Wunde Simini. He is a Susu of the Silla clan which is the clan corresponding to that of Yatara among the Malinké. He did his studies, at the village of Sarakole-’Ndia, and now has a flourishing school of his own, comprising twenty pupils—mainly young Susu of both sexes.

Musa Silla, whilst still a student, declared—in July 1915—that he considered himself worthy of the title of “Fode,” that is to say, “Doctor of Islamic Science.” Having given himself this certificate he then tied himself a professional turban, and announced that henceforth his name was “Fode Silla”. In Susu country this sort of bluff is more easily carried through than in the austere and pedantic highlands of Fouta.

Fode Silla is a disciple of Alfa Sirifu, himself a disciple of his father ’Mfa Sirifu. ’Mfa had been affiliated to the Qadri “t’riq” by Karamokho Taslimou of Touba whither ’Mfa had travelled to obtain it.

A fourth Qadriya community, off-shoot of Touba, is situated at Molota and its surroundings in the Kilissikiri Chiefdom. Its spiritual leader is (1920) Fode Koroma, Imam of the Molota mosque.

This old man was born about 1830 and first studied in the Kolen country near Timbo where his father Alfa Mamanu had settled and later died. He completed his studies at Touba and was initiated by Karamokho Qutubu. He has a school with about 15 people, but on account of his advanced age, his eldest son, Fode Alfa (born 1870) does most of the teaching.

Fode Koroma has several distinguished disciples in the Kilisikiri Chieftdom.

- (a) Donke Fode—*alias* Fode Kamara, born 1870, Susu, canton chief since 1909 when he succeeded to his father's title. The latter was Fode Demba Kamara a chief of great note in pre-French times. Donke Fode was one of Koroma's best pupils and was initiated by him.
- (b) Fode Lai Kamara, born 1880, a Susu, now Karamokho of a school at Molota having a dozen pupils.
- (c) Fode Daffé, born about 1873, at Forékaria, also a school-master.
- (d) Fode Lai, born 1868, Susu, school-master and farmer at Molota.
- (e) Fode Yoré, born 1857, a Susu of Kamara clan, school-master and farmer at Molota.

Fode Koroma is the most revered of the Molota Susu ; it is he who is always host to visiting Jakhanke.

He has, besides, a distinguished disciple in the person of Fode Ansumani Bangura, in the Sulima canton.

Fode Ansumani was born at Sumbuya, near Dubréka, a Susu. He studied at Bissikrima with Fode Yaya above mentioned. He has a school of some ten pupils at Sulima. He received affiliation first at the hands of Shekhu Yaya at Forékaria—a disciple of Koroma, and later had it confirmed by Fode Koroma himself.

Lastly we should make mention of the small group of Jakhanké at Kondeta (Kindia Cercle) who are of Touba origin, descendants of Sanusi son of Karam Ba, and of Karamokho Atigou son of Tassilimou. This group has, as spiritual leader, Lamina Sakho, son of Fode Sanusi. Lamina was born at Touba in 1867. He left there in 1890 and settled at *Konakri, remaining there as farmer and schoolmaster for 16 years. He left his wives and children there and came up country again settling at Kondeta and founding a Koranic school there near to his cousin Atigou. When the latter died, he took over the leadership of this small Jakhanke colony. He himself had received affiliation into "the way" at the hands of Karamokho Qutubu.

* Konakri, capital of French Guinea. The name of the town should be spelt KONAKH'Ri which means in Susu a "Necklace". This name was perhaps given to the town owing to the string of Islands—the Iles de Los—which face it. E.F.S.

In the Dubreka Cercle several Qadriya groups acknowledging obedience to the Touba marabouts, are to be met with. Most of them are to be found in the province of Bramaya on both banks of the Konkhure river—their principal centre being at the village of Koubia. They owe their origin to the proselytizing of several sons of Karamokho Kasso, son of Karam-Ba; these missionaries came down into the region in the early part of last century.

The principal figures in these Jakhanke (or Jakhanke controlled) groups are ;

- (1) At Wongkifu (Sumbuya), Tassili Manga Gassama, born 1856.
- (2) At Koyà,—Fode Shekhu Amadu, born 1845.
- (3) At Kubia ; (Bramaya) ; Shekhu Gassama born 1875, and Fode Ali born 1850—these two last being leaders of the Touba-Kaie of the region.

All are clergy, school-masters, and farmers.

In the native quarter of Konakri and its suburbs, several clerical personalities deriving from Touba either directly or through a branch seminary, may be mentioned. The principal of these are :—

1. At Konakri itself, Fode Ture, born 1888 ; and Fode Tarawali, born 1880, a disciple of Fode Modu of Dar-es-Salaam (Kindia).
2. At Diting-fula, Baba Jakhita, born 1879, disciple of Tyerno Umaru Gassama of Touba.

The other Qadri personalities derive rather from the schools of Upper Guinea—Kankan, †Kou-roussa, etc.

The influence of the Touba Jakhanke Qadriya was preponderant at Conakry a quarter of a century ago (1890–95).

It is through them, and along their “ path ” that the first converts to Islam were made in this region.

† The translator wishes to apologize for the inconsistency of spelling in the text, with regard to the use of “ u ” and “ ou ”. Both are here used to symbolize the same sound *i.e.* The broad “ ū ” pronounced like the “ ou ” in “ Soup ”. This is the commonest “ ū ” in African speech. Following R.G.S. rules, we English write it “ u ”. The French always write it “ ou ”. Thus: Umaru (English)=Oumarou (French practice). E.F.S.

From time to time Karamokho Qutubu sent thither his missionaries, and some of them settled in and round Konakri and opened Koranic schools for the conversion and edification of the Baga and Susu children. Later, Fula marabouts, belonging to the Omarian Tidjani order, became keen rivals of the Touba-kaïé Qadri, and it is these Tidjani who now-a-days constitute the majority in the Konakri Muslim community.

The Rio-Nunez river region ; which the Touba folk considered and utilized for a century as their natural outlet towards the salt-water, had always been the object of their religious care. It is true enough that their missionary propaganda failed to make a breach in the inveterate fetichism of the Tenda, Mikhiforé, and Landouma tribes. They achieved however a few conversions amongst the Nalou, and in any case maintained excellent relations with these coastal tribes.

It was from amongst them that they obtained most of their domestics, and Boké became the port to which the Jakhanke used to come to purchase European goods. Some of them even settled in Lower Guinea, and at Gené, Bel Air, and Sokobuli, these settlers have become the nuclei of small Qadriya Muslim groups with Koranic schools.

The liberation of the slaves has only served to re-inforce this growing movement of Islamization. Most of the Tenda Landouma, Baga, slaves, when they left Touba and regained their villages of origin on the coast, brought with them a few shreds of Islamic practices and lore, a few prayer gestures learnt through contact with their masters ; and, when they returned amongst their pagan brethren, felt it a distinction to make show of their newly gained knowledge. It did not amount to much, of course, but it was the first step, and now, whenever they can manage it they send their children to the Koranic school, and there accomplish the next step in the "right Path" of the Prophet.

Outside Guinea and apart from the small colonies founded in Cassamance in the late nineteenth century by the sons and nephews of Karamokho Qutubu, and to which we have already referred (Pakao, Sé'dhiou, Samboundou, Kabada) it remains to refer to, (1) the Jakhanké group of the sons and disciples of Karamokho Arfata, son of Modi Tassilimou. Arfata has now (1920. E.F.S.) been settled for some forty years in Sierra Leone, and has left a numerous progeny partly engaged in commerce in the English colony and partly in studies at Touba.

In English Gambia also, some of the children of Mamadu Kebir (alias Karām Ba Modi)—eldest son of Karam Ba—have settled as traders and farmers.

In Senegal the children of Mamadu Sanusi have founded the village of Toubande Niani (little Touba on the Niani).

There are a few of them also at Tabadian.

In Portuguese Guinea, there is the centre at Bandoum, a place which has proved attractive also to Alfa Yaya's last dependents and followers, and to frightened run-a-ways from Touba and from Kinsi.

CHAPTER V.

THE *TOKOLOR TIDJANIA OF DINGUIRAYE.

It is not possible to begin the study of Islam amongst the Fula—thoroughly of the Tidjani persuasion—without first studying the Tokolor Tidjanism of Dinguiraye whence that of the Fula is derived in line direct.

I.—AL HADJ OMAR AND HIS FAMILY AT DINGUIRAYE.

We have learnt through various authors—Faidherbe, Mage and M. A. le Chatelier, how Al Hadj Omar settled at Dinguiraye—in the desert—on his return from Mekka.

†Dinguiraye lies between the territories of Tamba (Dabatou) to the North of Wantofa (Sutadugu) and Wulada (Kouroussa) on the East, with Toumanéa lying to the South of it.

These petty kingdoms were fiefs of the Yalunka, Guimba Sakho. The inhabitants were all pagans.

Al Hadj Omar built himself a fortified walled town and settled down firmly in the country getting control over all of it as much by his religious prestige and propaganda as by arms and by political negotiations. Tradition—as recorded by M. Delafosse—has it that Omar brought about the conversion of Yéli Musa, an agent of his pagan sovereign Guimba, and then, Yéli Musa having sought refuge with Omar from his lord's anger, Omar refused the

*Corruption of "Tekrouri", antique name for the Western Sudan, especially the country on the S. Bank of the Senegal. Applied to it by ancient writers and by Mauritanians and Arabs. The "Tokolor" are a mixed race the elements of which, are partly Fula, partly Joloff and Serère, and partly Sarakholé. Our "Bundunka" Fulas would be correctly spoken of as "Tokolor" or "Toucouleurs". E.F.S.

†An old Yalunka place name. *c.f.* Dengera, the eastern part of Tambakha Yobanji. Both are the same name E.F.S.

demand for his surrender; and that this action brought about a rupture of good relations between the Tamba sovereign and his Tokolor vassal, and led finally to the overthrow and destruction of Guimba.

The Yalunka, led first of all by Guimba Sakho and afterwards by his son Tamba Bokari, were all either slaughtered or driven into exile or submission. While engaged in this conquest he drew the Fulas towards him diplomatically, and thus extending his power and influence and firmly laying its foundations, he began what became the epic story of the Tokolors' rise to power and empire, the greatest deed of arms in "Black" Africa in the 19th century. Al Hadj several times paid visits to Fouta Jallon. He had already come to Labé between 1820 and 1825, and as a Karamokho, at Satina, he had acquired a certain amount of popularity.

On his return from the Mekka pilgrimage he travelled up and down through Fouta, welcomed sometimes with favours and at other times coolly received by more or less jealous Alimamis, but remaining always an object of veneration for the masses.

One still meets (1920) in the Kolen and Koïn districts, old men who, having been born at the time of his visit were named Umaru in his honour. About 1850 he made a stay of some months at Timbo, giving literary and religious lectures which were a great success amongst the Fula Karamokho. Legend has it that it was partly due to his advice that the institution of two Alimamis, reigning two years each in turn, was begun. If the tale is true it shows that the Alimami, who for himself believed in and relied on the sheerest and most tyrannical absolutism in matters of rule, knew also how to give the most perfidious advice to neighbours whom he desired to weaken.

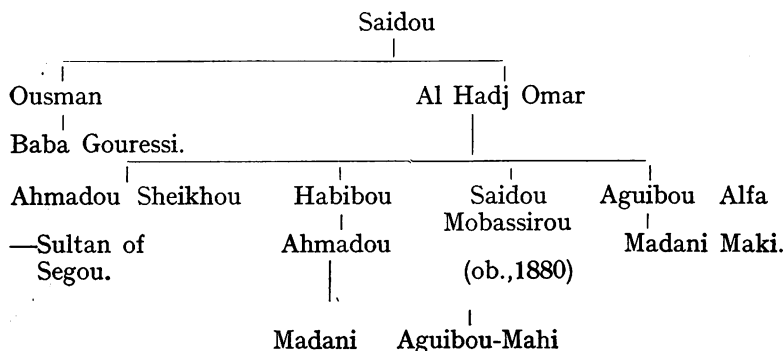
The religious intransigence that the marabout affected both in Fouta and elsewhere—at least when it appeared to serve his turn—conferred on him considerable prestige. Thenceforward he began to distribute the Tidjani "wird", initiating into "the way" as many as came to him, and showing especial favour towards the lesser of the Karamokho, those hundreds of the lower clergy who were in a position to influence the opinion of the mass of the population.

Simultaneously he started a campaign of propaganda with a view to detaching the Fula from their loyalty towards their Alimamis, and to drawing away the greatest number possible of persons and of herds of cattle into his Dinguiraye kingdom. He achieved his object thoroughly. The Fula of the Koïn and Timbo regions sent him numerous contingents and assisted his commissariat continuously during his campaign against the pagan Yalunka. And many led their flocks and herds into his country seeking

fresh pasturages. During this period the Tidjani "wird" of the Omarian propagation continued to spread throughout Futa, ousting imperceptibly, with gradual but relentless pressure, the Qaderism of the past. By 1888 Monsieur le Chatelier could report that "Tidjani doctrines have almost everywhere supplanted the Qadriya traditions." It was from this period (1845-1855) that Fouta Jallon was drawn into the Omarian orbit, and that the great conqueror could advance to his destiny. The faithful of his flock, attached to his religious banner, and being at the same time his brethren as regards ethnical characteristics (Fula and Torodbe), never, right to the end, deserted his cause.

From that time on, although situated without the limits of Fouta properly so called, Dinguiraye became one of its most important religious centres, and every Fula student of that generation felt himself obliged to come and follow there some course of lectures either in law or in theology, or at the very least to attach himself for a period to one of those many *Tokolor missionaries, who by the orders of the Dinguiraye Alimamis incessantly travelled throughout Fouta Jallon, preaching both for the "Good Word" of Islam, and for that "best of confraternities", the Tidjani path of Al Hadj Omar.

We give a genealogical table showing the family of Al Hadj.



* Tokolor is synonymous in practice with Torodbe (plur of Torodo in Poul-Poulle and Hal Poulou Fula) meaning people of Toro—a desert or steppe region inhabited by Fula on S. Bank of the Senegal. The people in Sierra Leone known as Bundunka are of similar racial and geographical origin—their ancestors came from Bundu another region S. of Senegal river to the E. of Toro. The name Tokolor or Toucouleur, which is a Gallic corruption of Tekroun would not be recognised by a native unless he were one who had been in contact with Frenchmen or Frenchified Joloffs in Senegal. Tekroun was the name given by the ancient Arab geographers to the region of the Senegal river and is perhaps still so used by the Mauritaniais speaking the Hassania Arabic of that country. E.F.S

When, in the year 1863, Al Hadj Omar left Dinguiraye he first of all handed the place over to the command of his faithful servant (Ja. wando). He was a little later replaced by Habibou, one of Al Hadj's sons. But in 1868 Habibou rebelled against the then chief of the dynasty, the eldest son Amadu, and led an army against him at Nioro (N. of Senegal River, E. of Niger) but was there defeated and captured. He died in chains a little later. Habibou was the father of the present (1920) chief of Dinguiraye.

The reputation he left in the country was that of a cruel and rapacious tyrant.

Saidou half brother (same father) of Aguibou, succeeded Habibou in 1868.

He perished in 1875 with a number of his followers at Nioro in the course of an expedition which he led against the pagan Malinké. Aguibou is reputed to have been a just, gentle and well-beloved ruler of his subjects. Mobassirou for a short period then commanded but was soon replaced by another Aguibou who this time was Saidou's full brother. This Aguibou won the regard both of Africans and Europeans, and he held power from 1876 to 1892. It was during his reign that the first French political officer, Obersdorf, sent by the Soudan Government, began those diplomatic negotiations which led to the constitution of a French Protectorate over the Dinguiraye Kingdom, in March 1887.

Aguibou, in whom Colonel Archinard reposed full confidence, was in 1892 called upon by the latter to assume the command at Macina.

He therefore left Dinguiraye for Banjagara, leaving his second son Alfa Maki in command at Dinguiraye. His eldest son Madani accompanied his father to Banjagara.

Alfa Maki Tal was an intelligent, well-disposed and active man, who spoke and understood French well.

As grandson of Al Hadj Omar and possessor of the grandfather's library of books, and moreover of some hair which legend said had once adorned the head of the Prophet Mohammed, Alfa Maki enjoyed considerable prestige. Unfortunately his intrigues and his exactions made it necessary that the French authority should suspend him for three months from the exercise of his functions—in March 1899—and in June of that year he was put under arrest. He was deported to Siguiri, then to Bamako and at length to Banjagara where he remained under his father's surveillance.

He was destined however to redeem his good name with us later, for he rendered us excellent service during a campaign against the Tokolors of Macina. In 1915 he died.

After 1899 the post of Alimami of Dinguiraye was suppressed and the Dinguiraye states were constituted a Cercle (Province or District) which in conformity with the re-organization of all this territory, was detached from the Soudan Colony Government and incorporated in that of Guinea (October 1899). The administration of this new Cercle was directed from its Headquarters with the help of local chiefs who were—for Dinguiraye—successively, Ibrahima Ture (1899–1901), Alfa Abdulai (1901–1903), Alfa Malian (1903–1910). But it was then found necessary to return to a more natural arrangement and to re-establish the chiefship on a more rational basis. The old state of Dinguiraye was divided into five “provinces”. In four of these, in which the Tokolor element dominated—if not by numbers, then at any rate by spiritual influence and by the prestige of religion and learning, the chiefship was given to Tokolors. In the fifth province, that of Missira, peopled mainly by Malinké, a chief of that tribe was appointed. (1911).

The Tidjani affiliation of the Dinguiraye marabouts, and through them, of the Karamokhos of Fouta is of the simplest possible description. It proceeds from the initiation into the rite which Al Hadj, on leaving Dinguiraye, conferred—with power of transmission—upon two of his “talibe”: Tafsirou Mahmoudou of Dinguiraye and Tafsirou Aliyhu of Tamba, and from that which, later, Ahmadou Shekhou, son and successor of Al Hadj Omar, conferred on his brother Aguibou whom he nominated Alimami of Dinguiraye. Through one or other of these above mentioned three persons the Tidjani “wirdou” was propagated throughout Middle Guinea.

The usual ceremonial for this initiation was nothing more than a hand-shake given by master to disciple, prolonged throughout the reading of the set-prayers by the Sheikh, and the responding recitation of the Tidjani litany by the adept.

A good number of the Tidjani initiations throughout the country have however been derived—from the same source indeed—but by another and rather curious mode of transference. It happened this way:—between 1888 and 1890 at the height of the fighting between Samory and Amadu Shekhou,—the terrible †Wasulunké (Samory) cut off entirely all communications between Dinguiraye and Segou.

† Wasulunké=“man of” or “native of” Wasulu. E.F.S.

The Dinguiraye Tokolors, who ought by right every year to have made their pilgrimage to the Sultan at Segou at the time of the Tabaski (Dunkin or Dhulkaada—'Aid. el-Kebir) feast, and to have there partaken of communion in the form of the common feasting on the flesh of sacrificially slaughtered sheep, and to have had their affiliation into the "wird" again conferred to them (all these were means to maintain them in their proper political allegiance); these Dinguiraye folk now found themselves cut off from their accustomed spiritual succour, and through Agibou's pen asked counsel of their Sheikh, the Sultan Amadu at Segou, and sent him their excuses. The Tokolor Sultan replied to them in a letter which remains a classic in the Dinguiraye annals, and runs as follows :—(Arabic text not reproduced).

"In the name of God" !

Praise be to God whose generosity I proclaim ! No divinity exists save God alone and to His Unity We here attest. May God shower benedictions on our Lord Mohammed, head of all things created, on his family, on his companions and on all his posterity !

This letter is from the Emir-el-Moumenin Ahmadu Kabirou, son of our Sheikh Omar-ben-Saïd ; may God be satisfied with our believers and with Us ourselves through the mediation of our Sheikh ; to our virtuous brother and blessed disciple Mamadu Aguibou, son of our Sheikh Omar ben Saïd, our hearty salutations ! We are in perfect health. How are you yourself and the "brethren" who are with you ?

Further, I have read and understood your letter. You ask to be excused for having failed to come and be present at the Tabaski feast with us according to the order that I gave you at the time of our separation.

I have understood what you tell me, and I accept your excuses and your regrets.

Fear God Most High, and obey Him. Be good with all subjects as it is prescribed to be.

My brethren, I wish you well ; obey God and follow with the right spirit him whom I have placed at your head, Mamadu Aguibou.

Whoever is present at the reading of this letter, by that very fact itself I confer on him affiliation into our Tidjania "path" and to whomsoever has already taken it, I re-confirm it, upon the customary conditions".

On receipt of this letter, Alimami Aguibou at once had it read in public in the Great Mosque on the Friday following its reception. This reading of it was several times renewed and the event soon attracted a considerable crowd of people, who, by their simple presence at its reading, found themselves provided with a passport of affiliation into the Tidjani order !

Outside their Tokolor and Fula "talibé" in Dinguiraye, the Alimamis of that centre personally had but few disciples in Fouta, for they did not care to lower their prestige by themselves conferring outside initiations, or by appearing as personal propagandists; they preferred that this should be done by missionaries sent out by them.

Outside Dinguiraye, therefore, we have only a few rare Fula personages to mention as having been directly initiated by Allmami Aguibou. The most important of these direct affiliations is that of Tyerno Amédou, a Timbo Fula born about 1840 at Tougali and an inhabitant of Kouratouga in the Koune country, in the Kolle province of the Koïn diwal. Amédou is a well lettered marabout who conducts a flourishing Koranic school.

(ii) THE DINGUIRAYE CERCLE (1916).

The present day Cercle of Dinguiraye contains about 10,000 sq. kilometres.

The population is mainly Fula. There is, however, at least in the three provinces of Dinguiraye, Loufa and Tamba, a high proportion of Tokolor belonging in descending order to the Guénar, Irlabé, and Toro groups.

In the Bailo province the Tokolor are less numerous. In the fifth province, that of Misira, in the extreme North-East of the Cercle, the population is almost entirely Malinké, and was ruled by a Chief of this tribe, Mori Kaba, who was however deposed in 1915. The following table gives the divisions of population of the Dinguiraye Cercle.

Dinguiraye Province, (Chief Amadu Habibou)	.. ..	10,944 inhabitants.
Loufa Province, (Chief Sharif Hamidou)	.. ..	7,068 ..
Bailo Province, (Chief Tidjani Ja)	.. ..	8,204 ..
Tamba Province, (Alfa Mamadou Thiam)	.. ..	6,278 ..
Misira Province, (vacant 1920)	.. ..	5,120 ..
		<u>37,614 inhabitants.</u>

The exclusively Tokolor villages are :—

Dinguiraye and Jambou in the Dinguiraye Province, Bagi and Kontemori in the Loufa Province ; Misira, Tamba, 'Mboné, Bouberé-Torodbé, Dougoullé in the Tamba Province ; Sabéraferañ, Balaniwumaia in Tamba, and Foniokountou in Loufa, are half Tokolor and half Fula.

It is the Dinguiraye Province that includes the greatest number of Tokolor. Their habitations are grouped mainly around the celebrated mosque of Al Hadj Omar. A few small groups of Tidjania Malinké are also to be found here, but the bulk of the population consists of Fula of all and every origin. In the village of Tinkisso there are a certain number of Serakollé.

The Loufa Province is populated by Fula and Tokolor. There are also strong Malinké groups originating from Koleñ (Timbo) who have come and settled in Loufa during the course of the 19th century—fleeing from the exactions of the Fula Alimamis and chiefs.

Some very fine mosques have been erected in the relatively Islamized centres of the Loufa province, such as Ansangeré-Jongolbé, Doubel, and Kamban Masi !

The *Baïlo took its name from the Fula Baïlo or wandering Fulas, who for the last half century have tended to settle in this part of the country and who have been mentioned earlier in this treatise. There are besides a certain number of Jakhanke descendants of the former owners of the land hereabouts, but their numbers are diminishing. There are also a few Bambara groups and several fairly strong Malinké colonies,—emigrants from Koleñ-Timbo. The headquarters of the Province is Niaria-Tinkissan, a big village of 2,000 inhabitants, founded by the chief of the Province, the Tokolor, Tidjani Ja, called " Ti Ja".

Besides the two neighbouring mosques of Niaria-Tinkissan and of Totiko we may mention that of Kansato in the West, and those of Dar-es-Salaam and of Fogo in the South of the Province. These villages, as well as those of Daragbé and of Bissikrima-Kura, are imbued with a somewhat fervent Islamic spirit.

The Province of Tamba has been for half a century strongly Islamized. The old capital of this Province ; Gimbo-Sako—founded by the former pagan Yalunka rulers—the ruined " tata "

* Baïlo in Fula means a "blacksmith"—plur.—"Waïlubé."
Blacksmiths like weavers, potters, leather workers and Yeli men are caste people, and tend to wander in search of profitable patrons.

wall of which and the breach therein made by the conquering Al Hadj Omar is still to-day a sight to be shown to visitors, has been succeeded as capital by the Musulman centre of Balani-Oumaya populated by Fula and Tokolor and possessing the second most important mosque of the Province.

Al Hadj Omar had changed the name of "Tamba" into that of "Dabatou" (a local deformation of Taibata=Meccan city). He used to imprison anyone who continued to employ the proscribed pagan appellation. But his orders did not prevail, and on the arrival of the French name of "Tamba" won the day; but the name Dabatou is also still in use.

In the Tamba Province, representatives of all the races who people the Dinguiraye country are met with; Fula and Tokolor predominate, the Malinké are numerous, there are important groups of Yalunka—the old landlords of the country—these are nowadays scattered along the banks of the Bafin river. There are also a certain number of Joloff families, descendants of companions and comrades of Al Hadj Omar—these Joloff are especially to be met with in the village of Saberéfarañ. They have all lost the use of their Joloff speech—except in the just above mentioned village, and have become "Tokolorised". Mention should also be made of the Sarakollé village of Naregala, the founders of which were followers of Al Hadj.

The Province of *Misira, in spite of its Islamic name, is mainly inhabited by pagan beer-drinking Yalunka. They have preserved intact several of their walled villages, such as Fighia, Kounda-Daouda and Sangaran. But the Chiefship has not remained in the hands of the descendants of Guimba-Sakho. It has passed into the hands of the family of Alfa Aluseni (died 1912). The latter's brother, Hassana Kamara, at the present time has only jurisdiction over the village of Misira. Most of the villages have no mosque, or only simple praying-squares. The only mosque of note is that of Soboli, a Fula village.

There are besides, strong Malinké groups to be met with in Misira Province.

Koya, on the left bank of the Bafin river is a †Missidi of small importance situated in the midst of semi-desert-like ‡Bové. The majority of its inhabitants are Fula but it contains also one Serakollé

* MIS'RA is the Arabic name for Egypt.

† "Missidi" = chiefdom of a parish having hamlets, etc., dependent on it—religiously and politically.

‡ Bové (Fula) plur. of Bowal = a rocky, laterite-covered plain, usually devoid of vegetation in dry season, but covered with grasses in the rains.

village, Bala-Sarakollé. Lastly, it is in the Misira province that Fode Kajaliou and his Jakhanke founded the Zauwia of Baghdadia (Bardadia). This Zauwia, which we shall refer to later, was a dependency of that of Sheikh Al-Kebir of Mauritania. Its former Jakhanke inhabitants have all disappeared, but it has become re-peopled of late years by Fula immigrants originating from all the four corners of Fouta.

Fouta and Tokolor are Muslimin, " dyed in the wool."

The Malinké are less fervent, by which I mean to say that their notion of Islam is impregnated with a multitude of pagan rites and practices of pre-Islamic customs, and this causes them to be despised by their more orthodox † "Hal. Poularen" co-religionaries.

The Fula and the Tokolor are Tidjaniya, of the Omarian obedience. The Malinké are Qadriya, as are in fact the great majority of this tribe throughout Upper Guinea.

Besides the Jakhanke already mentioned, we have lastly to glance at a few Sarakolé groups ; those of Sakhoya, Bala Sarakolle, and Morégala, who came into the country in olden time—when it was still a Yalunka land—for purposes of commerce and whose movement of immigration has become accentuated since the time of Al Hadj Omar.

The town of Dinguiraye itself, in the Province of that name, contains a very mixed population of Fula, Malinké, and Yalunka and Tokolor—the latter element being the predominating one.

The town still preserves its reputation for sanctity and learning, although the number of its Karamokho has sadly diminished and the number of its scholars fallen far below the figure of 400 which it still reckoned at the beginning of the present century.

The celebrated mosque still enjoys its prestige—of now nearly a century long.

Both in Fouta Toro and in Fouta Jallon to the West and in the regions of Kouroussa and Kankan in the East this mosque is held in veneration.

For both Hal Poularen and Malinké peoples it is still the famous mosque of " Sheikhou Oumarou " and is thus designated by them.

† " Hal. Poularen " = people of Fouta speech, be the dialect Poul-Poullé of Fouta Jallon, or the " Hal-Poular " of Fouta Toro and Senegal generally.

We have also occasion to note the presence at Dinguiraye of a dozen or so Syrian Muslimin.

They exert no proselytizing influence either by preaching or by example. A few Syrian Catholics are also there, and both Muslimin and Christians are at one in remembering that first and foremost they are children of old Phœnicia, and therefore, above all merchants at heart; and all, without distinction of religion, sell cheap Arabic books, pious chromolithographs, and give themselves out to be—even when they are not in fact—true followers of the Prophet in order the better to attract local custom.

(iii) THE PERSONALITIES OF THE RELIGIOUS WORLD OF DINGUIRAYE

A. Amadu Habibou Fal. Amadu Habibou, Chief both of the Province and the village of Dinguiraye, was born about 1868. His father Habibou was one of the favourite sons of Al Hadj Omar, who nominated him as his representative at Dinguiraye. Through his mother, Habibou was related to Mohammed Bello, Sultan of Sokoto (Nigeria). From 1861 to 1868 he held command of Dinguiraye but in the latter year he rebelled against his elder brother Ahmadu Sheikhu, the great conqueror's successor, and marched against him at Nioro. He was captured and kept several years in chains at Segou and then died there.

Habibou's son Amadu, was born at Dinguiraye the same year as his father's departure therefrom. He was brought up and studied under the care of his uncle Aguibou, and was then employed by Maki Tal—at that time chief of the country—as counsellor and minister of state.

They quarrelled several times, as did the other heads of branches of the Omarian family, who were for ever contending with each other for authority.

In 1899 Habibou became compromised in Maki Tal's conspiracies against the French, and was in consequence deported to Senegal, where he remained till 1904, when, as a result of a petition by the local notabilities, he was allowed to return to Dinguiraye, and remained there, living quietly as a farmer, man of note, and religious elder.

At the time of the re-settlement of the administration of the Dinguiraye region (transfer from Soudan to Guinea) his name was considered for nomination as chief on account of his great influence over both Fula and Tokolor as grandson of Al Hadj Omar and as son of a former elder of the country. It was even a question whether the former State of Dinguiraye should not

be re-constituted and of conferring on Habibou a protected sovereignty. Happily this misconceived project was not entertained for long and it was finally decided to divide up Dinguiraye into five big provinces. Amadu Habibou was given command of the Province of Dinguiraye proper, the town being the central point of the region and Headquarters of the newly formed administrative Cercle.

Habibou has held his appointment since December, 1911. He is at present (1920) a man of about 50 years of age, corpulent, and somewhat apathetic. He is far from being a man of great learning and his Islamic instruction is almost nil but his illustrious descent from the great marabout gives him considerable religious prestige.

He has several children. His eldest Madai, born in 1905, is a pupil in the French school at Dinguiraye, the other sons are still (1920) too young to attend school. One of his daughters, Nené Hausa is married to Saidou Sö Tokolor, Government interpreter for the Touggué Cercle; and another, Khadijatu Koubra has become the wife of Karamokho Ané, a Tokolor itinerant trader, who through his mother is himself a grandson of Al Hadj Omar.

In spite of the losses he sustained owing to the liberation of his domestics, Habibou enjoys considerable wealth and is the owner of some fine herds of cattle.

B. Amadu Tidjani.—Amadu Tidjani is of Tokolor origin. He was born about 1870 at Kouniakari near Nioro-Sahel (in the Saharan confines of N. bank of R. Senegal) where his father, Demba, a "jula" trader born in the Bundu country, had come to carry on his trading activities. Amadu Tidjani himself has travelled a lot, and, from Bisikrima and Dinguiraye as his centres, sets out on trading journeys throughout Guinea, and as far as Dakar even, for the purpose of selling his cattle. He is a Karamokho of sound learning, open-minded and progressive, and he is on occasion employed as Arabic writer at the Cercle Headquarters office.

He received his Tidjani "wird" at the hands of a Sahil-Mauritanian Sherif who was living at Nioro, named Sheikhu Wul'd Sidi, who was himself a disciple of Amadu Sheikhu, son of Al Hadj Omar.

C. Mokhtar Fal.—Mokhtar Fal is a Tokolor born about 1860 at Dinguiraye. Since 1914 he has been chief of the village of Bissikrima. He is well lettered. His family came originally from Aloar, birth-place of Al Hadj Omar. His father, Ousman Fal, left there in 1850 to try and make his fortune at Dinguiraye

under the protection of the Al Hadj, his country-man who had been so successful. Mokhtar's brother, Mostafa Fal, a former shop-keeper has married a daughter of Ahmadu Habibou, the Dinguiraye Chief. He assists his brother at Bissikrima.

D. Sherif Hamidou.—Chief of the Loufa province, is one of the most outstanding "maraboutic" personalities of Dinguiraye. He is of Sherifian origin through the Moroccan branch, thus;—

The Prophet of God ; Fatma wife of Ali, Moulai Hassan ; Moulai Mohammed ; Moulai Hassan ; Moulai Abd Allah Kamel ; Moulai Dris ; Moulai Dris ii ; Moulai Hash'mi ; Moulai Abdoul Yazid ; Moulai Ali ; Yazid ; Moulai Moulai Abd Allah ; Moulai Othman ; Moulai Jafar ; Moulai Yamar ; Moulai Abd-el Qader ; Naaman Moulai Hassin ; Moulai Ahmed, Abd-el Qader ; Mohammed ; Sidi ; Mohammed Lamin ; Sherif Abd Allah ; Sherif Hamidou.*

Sherif Hamidou's grandfather, Mohammed Lamin, son of Sidi, came from Fez to Fouta Toro at the end of the 18th century. During a stay at Matam (an old and still existing commercial centre on the banks of the Senegal between Kaédi and Bakel) he married a Tokolor woman. Late in life, about 1830, he became home-sick, and left for Morocco leaving her behind, enceinte. He died during his voyage home near some undetermined Saharan watering point.

His posthumous son, Abdulai, was born about 1830. When he grew up he gave himself, as befitting the son of a "pale-face", the title of Sherif. This was Sherif Abdulai (Abd Allah) above. He lived in central Toro at Tshilonyé and at Leï Bosseïa, and died at Dounga in 1911. He was buried at Séd Abbas, where his tomb is still shown.

Of his numerous children who lived and prospered in the Bosseïa region, the one with whom we are concerned is *Sherif Hamidou.

He was born in 1864 at Jollol near Matam.

He had an excellent education and made a complete course of studies with the Tokolor Marabouts of Fouta Toro. He then went for a post-graduate course and to determine his vocation,

*Sherif Hamidou came to Sierra Leone at end of 1933, on a visit to relatives in Freetown. He stayed sometime at Kamakwie with P.C. Kande Bokari of Sela Limba and when I was there paid me a complimentary visit.
E.F.S.

to Ahmadu Shekhou at Ségou (1885). About 1889, when the French entered this town, he fled, and came to seek his good fortune in the Dinguiraye country to Alimami Aguibou. He opened a school there, and soon became—by his knowledge, tact and shrewdness—one of the “official” marabouts of that region. First under Aguibou, and then still more so under Maki Tal, he has been one of the Alimami’s counsellors, and one of the recognized divines and jurisconsults of the régime.

Maki put him in charge even of a group of villages, a section, but the first attempt of Hamidou’s as an administrator was hardly a success.

After the deposition of Maki Fal in 1899 the French authorities utilized Hamidou’s services as “qadi” or magistrate, and also as Arabic writer in the bureaux of the Administration. He held this appointment for some twelve years, and in this capacity, on account of his juridical science, his refined suppleness, his intelligence and local knowledge, he rendered us distinguished service.

On the re-organization of the Dinguiraye district Sherif Hamidou was placed at the head of the Loufa Province of that Cercle (14.12.1911).

He still *(1920) holds this appointment, and performs his duty in a most satisfactory fashion.

Throughout Dinguiraye the maraboutic prestige of Sherif Hamidou is very eminent, not only amongst the Tokolors who consider him as one of themselves, but also amongst the Fula and the Malinké. He is also very well known in Eastern Fouta Jallon,

He is a well lettered man in Arabic, and a Musulman “savant” of real worth. His functions as political chief of the Province forbid his preaching and teaching nowadays, but he still has numerous talibé (disciples). Very intelligent, he has realized the necessity of being able to dispense with intermediaries in his relations with public authority, and he has put himself to the study of French, which he speaks and understands to some extent.

*Since 1920 much has changed in French Guinea. In the course of the last 30 years—from Paris to the limits of the Republic’s territories the “lay” ideal, à outrance, has predominated. “Francs Maçons” of the Great Orient lodge command in the Metropolis; and in the Colonies theocracy is anathema. Marabouts as well as Catholic priests are made to feel the repercussion of the prevailing ideology. E.F.S.

Sherif Hamidou, who has made his home at Mansarénaya, the capital of Loufa, is a man of some fifty years of age, of stout build and grave but benign countenance, bespectacled; and has rather the appearance of a typical Karamokho than that of a typical Tokolor political Chief.

His children are numerous. His sons, who have all been through French schools, are: Amadu Sherifou, born 1888, intelligent and open-minded, is his father's representative at the headquarters of the Cercle Administrator, at Dinguiraye; then there is Maki Sherifou, born about 1895, who is his father's "Khalifa" or deputy in the provincial administration; then Aguibou Sherifou born in 1899, who is still (1920) a pupil at the French lycée at Konakri. Sherif Hamidou's daughters are all married to big farmers and Tokolor notabilities in the Dinguiraye region.

Sherif Hamidou is a Tidjani of the Omarian affiliation, which he received at the hands of Al Hadji Saïdou, a Tokolor from Toro (village of Heddi) who himself had been initiated by Al Hadj Omar at Matam. It was from the same Al Hadj Saïdou that Sherif Hamidou received the powers of a consecrating moqaddem.

Sherif Hamidou's principal "talib" is Baba Qouraisni who was born about 1875 at Ségou. His father, Ousman Tal, was Al Hadj Oumarou's brother. He fled from Ségou on the entry of the French, and sought refuge at Dinguiraye with Aguibou.

He devoted himself to commercial pursuits in which he is past master. He is one of the most noted of Fouta "jula", and it is because of this, and in spite of his almost complete lack of Islamic instruction, that he has managed skilfully to spread his personal influence.

He has disciples in every part of the region, the principal of whom is: Abidou, born about 1855, an ex-Karamokho who has closed his school, since his nomination as chief of Maregala (Tamba).

Baba Qouraisni has other small groups of followers at Kansato in Baïlo and at Kalinko in the same Province, and in Fouta he has others the best known of whom are Alfa Aliyhu, chief at Nia-gara (Timbo), son of the great Modi Jogo, the chief of the Modimaka "tékou"—the head "ward" of the Timbo electorate. Alfa Aliyhu received affiliation in the course of one of Baba's visits to Timbo.

Other than Baba Qouraisni, the following disciples of Sherif Hamidou may be cited:—Saïdou Paré Sara, a Bambara born about 1880, a farmer of Dinguiraye; Maki Dyéli, Bambara, born 1880,

who is a farmer and also a notable "Yéli-man" (orator, song-maker and musician (balanji-player) at Dinguiraye; Fafa Keïta, Bambara, born 1888—farmer at Dinguiraye; Sulai Labo, Tokolor, a tailor at Dinguiraye; Mamadou Kamara and Fode Kamara, farmers at Santigia (Loufa Province); Billo Dyéli, a Malinké, "meister singer" of the Yéli corporation, and also a farmer, at Semounoko (Loufa Province); Tyerno Dura Mali, a Fula, and farmer at Téliko (Loufa). Sherif Hamidou has also a great number of "talibé" of lesser importance, known and unknown, to whom he has distributed initiation into membership of his Tidjani "wird".

E. Alfa Mamadu Thiam. Alfa Mamadu Thiam, Chief of the Tamba Province, comes from a clerical family enjoying high prestige in the Dinguiraye country.

His great grandfather, Tyerno Domba, was of Jolof origin, and came from the Jolof Kingdom proper. He migrated from that country into Fouta-Toro towards the end of the 18th century, and settled at Mogo Haïré in the Damga district around Matam (on the Senegal River). He was interred at Mogo Haïré. One of his sons, Tyerno Ahmadu, succeeded him as head of his Koranic school, and having turned naturalized Tokolor, acquired a certain prestige amongst that people. He was buried beside his father.

It was his son Tafsirou (Doctor of Koranic studies) Aliyhu, born at Mogo Haïré about 1840, who succeeded him. He began his studies in Fouta Toro, and completed them at St. Louis (Nat 'Ndar) where he found employment for a time as office messenger in the service of the Senegal Government. He subsequently spent some time in the Moakol district (Cayor Province) with Tafsirou Mukhtar Djop, who taught him law and theology. Finally he returned to Fouta Toro, about 1860. He then followed Al Hadj Omar throughout his many wanderings and settled at length at Tamba in the Dinguiraye States. Tafsirou Aliyhu's Maraboutic career was truly remarkable, and he was one of the two disciples on whom the Saint conferred powers of consecration in Dinguiraye.

At his death, in 1902, he had left a great number of disciples along all this Fouta borderland; some of them to-day are independent and heads of autonomous groups, whilst others have passed under the spiritual tutelage of his son Mamadou.

The latter was born about 1865 at Tamba.

His first studies were made under his father and divers Tokolor marabouts at Dinguiraye. He then devoted ten years of his youth to itinerant commerce with Konakri.

Nominated village Chief of Tamba in 1897, he performed his duties with zeal, and soon "got into palaver with" the Alimami Maki Tal, about which he recked little, feeling that it was to his interest to take the side of the French administration.

Dismissed from his appointment as village chief of Tamba, owing to complaints from the elders of the Province that he had exceeded his powers, he was immediately appointed supervisor of Arabic studies at the Government school at Dinguiraye. There he at once attained to a leading influence and during eight years rendered us distinguished services. He took advantage of his period of service in our Education department to perfect his knowledge of the French language which he speaks and writes well enough. In 1908 he made a stay of six months at Medina on the Lower Senegal and at Kayes for the horse trade with the Mauritians.

In 1911, by Order in Council of 14th December, he was appointed Chief of Tamba province, and he has performed the duties of this post with devotion, energy and intelligence. In 1916 the Governor-General nominated him a member of the Consultative Council for French West African Musulman Affairs, and having been summoned in this capacity to Dakar in 1916, he then paid a visit of one month's duration to the A.O.F. capital city.

As an Arabic man of letters, Mamadou Thiam is quite remarkable. He writes good prose and verse in the language of the Prophet and can carry on with facility a conversation in literary Arabic. He is an enlightened, cultivated and intelligent man.

Like many natives he is an accomplished polyglot and speaks Malinké, Susu, Hal Poular and Poul Poullé, and has besides preserved a knowledge of his ancestral language, Jolof. His prestige, both on the personal account, and as heir to Tafsirou Aliyhu's "baraka", is very great, and it should not be forgotten that, although his function as Chief of a Province prevents his playing a maraboutic role, he is nevertheless regarded as an Islamic pontiff.

He owns a well stocked Arabic library—mainly religious—even since his loss of half of it, in a fire at Dinguiraye.

He has made of his Provincial headquarters, at Balani-Oumaya, —an old Yalunka village—an important religious centre to which Karamokhos are attracted and there receive his welcome and hospitality as patron. He has erected there a very fine mosque which in magnificence yields only to that of Dinguiraye itself.

The place now attracts clerics and theologians from as far distant countries as Mauritania and the Soudan.

His sons, still children (1920), Ahmadou, born in 1907; Ibrahima, born 1909; Bou Bakar, born 1912, are in class at the Dinguiraye French school; his daughters are married to local Tokolor notabilities and traders or, in some cases, to people of the same class in Senegal,

His brothers are all well known personalities :—

Yousoufou Thiam, born about 1875, is Arabic writer to the Dinguiraye Cercle administration, secretary to the provincial Tribunal, and at present an assessor to this Court.

His elder brother, Alfa Amadu Thiam, born 1873, is a well lettered farmer of note, at Konakri, and it is he who, according to the canon, has taken on Alfa Mamadou's spiritual succession, since the latter, after becoming a political chief, no longer distributes affiliation into the "wird".

Alfa Ahmadou is the father of Bai Thiam, station-master (1920) of the Kolenté station on the Konakri-Niger railway.

Another brother of Mamadou Thiam's is Abdurahman, born 1872, Karamokho at Tamba, where he lives with his elder brother. There is also Hamidou, a farmer, also at Tamba. The principal "talibé" whose membership is derived either through Alfa Mamadou Thiam, or through his father, are :— Tafsirou Lamin, Tokolor born about 1863 in the Koïñ area of the Touggué district, a teaching cleric and a farmer, at Saberé-Farañ in Tamba province. He arrived quite as a child, accompanying his parents, and re-joined Al Hadj Omar at Dinguiraye. His father, Alfa Mamadou, took part in the campaigns of the Omarian armies against the pagan Yalunka of Tamba. As one of the victors, Alfa Ahmadou settled down in the conquered territory, and his son, Tafsirou Lamin, who completed his studies under Tafsirou Aliyhu, received initiation at the latter's hands, and has himself since become a local celebrity.

Another "talib" is Tyerno Mamadou Koya, a Fula, born at Jambou (Dinguiraye) about 1850, who resides at Missira Koya. His father, Amadou Ba, was born near Pita, and came to Dinguiraye, attracted like others of his tribe, by the brilliancy of that shining star, Al Hadj Omar.

Tyerno Mamadou first studied under Tafsirou Aliyhu, and made himself a name as jurist, was employed as such by the last of the Alimamis, and then by the French who appointed him judge of the Missira tribunal—which at the time was in existence. At the present day he is schoolmaster and farmer.

Another is Tyerno Abdul, born 1880, called "Eléyabé" from the name of his residence. He also is a Fula, son and pupil of Ishaka, a marabout who some years back enjoyed renown. His uncle Imourana Éla also left the reputation of being a man of great holiness. Tyerno Abdul is a karamokho of repute, but in fact his degree of learning is very small.

Then there is Alfa Mamadou of Totiko, born about 1870, and the venerable Tyerno Mamadu of Jawia, born 1830, but these are minor marabouts without much influence.

Another disciple is Modi Mamadou Thiam of Saberé-farasi, born 1860.

Another is Tyerno Tahirou, a Fula from Labé, living at Dara Sokoboli and born about 1865.

Lastly we may cite Tyerno Sabitou (Thabit) a Fula, chief of the Eleyabé, and his brother Maki Ella, a Karamokho and man of note.

The influence of Tafsirou Aliyhu and his son has spread beyond the borders of Dinguiraye. We may mention in this connection their disciples in the Koïñ region; Karamokho Mamadou Bobo, a Rengabé Fula, born about 1850, who is Imam of the Kona mosque, and a man of influence in this centre; Tyerno Ibrahima, of the Koulounanké clan, born in 1875, living at Vendou Malanga. He began his education at home and continued his studies at Timbo. On his return he became Koranic school teacher, rubber trader, and general assistant to the chief of the province. He himself has a certain number of "talibé" in the region, the chief of whom is Tyerno Alimiou, a Fula of the Séléyanké clan, born at Mombéia about 1853, and residing in the Bouroutomo Marga at Kémaya (Ditiñ Cercle). He is a lettered man, author of several poems in honour of the Prophet, and is a teacher of repute and much respected marabout. He has several "talibé" of his own in that part of Koïñ country.

F. Tidjani Ja. Tidjani Ja, better known under the name of Ti Ja, son of Ousman Seïdou, is chief of the Bailo province. He was born about 1867, and studied under his Tokolor compatriots at Dinguiraye, and at once was noted as a fervent and very learned Muslim. When the Alimami Aguibou was called to the Soudan by Colonel Archinard, he followed him. Later on we hear of him as accompanying Lieutenant Maritz,* fighting against Samory and his captains Sori Ba and Baro Majara.

*Killed at the Waima misadventure in Kono District.

In 1898 he tried his hand as a trader both in the Mauritanian Sahel and in Sierra Leone.

Religion gave Ti Ja notoriety, and this in turn led to his chiefship of a province. On the organization of the Dinguiraye territory he was made (January 1912) Chief of Baïlo, in which capacity he had been acting "on approval" since 1909. He thoroughly distinguished himself by his energy and intelligence, and even acquired a reputation as "specialist for public works"; his roads, bridges, wells, and rest-houses being always maintained by him in perfect condition. He encouraged his people in agricultural development and obtained some fine results.

Ti Ja is an Omarian Tidjani whose membership derives from the famous letter of Amadou Sheikhou to Aguibou.

He has a certain number of disciples in the Dinguiraye region, but more especially in the Baïlo province. Since his appointment as chief his maraboutic characteristics have become much effaced, or at least concealed from the view of Frenchmen. In his heart however he remains what he was—and will re-appear as such should the occasion arise—a very erudite and very much respected marabout.

His residence at Niara Tinkinisan is the site of a fine mosque, straw-thatched in the classic style of the mosques of all the country.

G. Alfa Maliañ. Alfa Maliañ Ba, Tokolor, has just died (1920) leaving the reputation of a great marabout. This reputation is only partially inherited by his children.

He was born about 1840 at Matam, and as a child had followed his parents, who had attached themselves to the fortunes of Al Hadj Omar. He studied hard at Dinguiraye and on the death of his father, Tyerno Abdulai, succeeded him as marabout about the Court of Ahmadou Sheikhou. In this capacity he was present at the siege of Nioro and then returned to Dinguiraye where he became counsellor to the Alimami Maki Tal. When the former state of things was suppressed, Alfa Maliañ was appointed chief of the town of Dinguiraye (1903-1910), and then Assessor of the Tribunal of the Cercle. His incapacity as chief, and that of other local chiefs, led the French authorities to re-organize the native administration, and Alfa Maliañ found his functions annulled.

He became once more a marabout, and retired to 'Mboné (Tamba province), where he did some little teaching, but was more often deputized for by his sons and disciples, on account of his great age. He died at Dinguiraye in 1913 and was buried there.

His eldest son, Alfa Ba, born in 1875, has not a great deal of learning, and only enjoys the reflection of the paternal "baraka". He is chief of the village of 'Mbone, and gives himself over mainly to agricultural pursuits.

Alfa Maliañ's other sons, Oumarou Ba, Ousman Ba, and Mama Foro Ba are important farmers at 'Mboné.

Alfa Maliañ's group attaches itself to Omarian Tidjanism through the great marabout himself, who conferred affiliation on Alfa Maliañ as a young man in Fouta Toro in the "sixties" of last century. But, as official powers of consecrating moqaddem were never conferred on him, Alfa Maliañ only ventured clandestinely to exert such power, and in consequence his "talibé" are few in number.

The other Dinguiraye marabouts are only second class personages, and merit only rapid review. They are:—Tyerno Oumarou Thiam, born in 1868, school-master but more especially "jula" trader, a man of some learning and transcriber of the letter quoted above from Ahmadou Sheikhou to Aguibou; Tyerno Mamadou Abdul, school-master born in 1855; Ibrahima Hamadou, called Kankan on account of a sojourn he made in that town, he was born in 1840 and pretends to have received the "wird" from Al Hadj Omar himself at Horé, a village founded in 1860; Doula Tyerno Siré and his brother Tyerno Siré Baro, school-masters; Ousmani Jallo, well lettered and receptive to progressive ideas. All the above natives are Tokolor in origin, and are sons of companions of Al Hadj Omar, born and brought up in the country, who have much in common, and hang together as a clique, forming a block vis-à-vis other ethnical elements, and who through their particularism still manage to keep their Fouta Toro language and customs.

To these may be added Alfa Ahmadou Bodié, a Fula from Kolladé in Ditin Cercle, who has been settled in Dinguiraye for the last sixty years (1920), and who is Imam of the mosque of Al Hadj Omar.

In the Loufa province there are, at Loufa: Alfa Bakar of Kansato, born 1850, school-master; at Bagui, a Torodo village: Alfa Mamadou Goudo, called Mamadou Alfa, a native of Nieniéméré (Koïn); Alfa Ibrahima Jop, whose grandfather, who was of Jolof origin, came into the country as a follower of Al Hadj Omar. Alfa Jop has been a village chief. To-day he is a schoolmaster, and had the elementary class taught by his son Bou Bakar, whilst he himself gave the upper forms a little course

in the Rissala. Bou Bakar is at present, however, teacher of Arabic in the French school at Labé in Fouta Jallon.

In the Tamba province we may mention the following :—Alfa Saliyhu Poullo, a Fula whose parents were from Timbo, but who was born at Dinguiraye about 1860, master of a small school of a dozen pupils ; and Alfa Umarou Bailo, a Fula, who is both blacksmith and school-master at the same time.

In the Bailo province we have :—Tyerno Mamadou Sori, born about 1855, who resides at Niaria Tinkinsan ; Alfa Mamadou Giddo, born 1868, living at Fogo ; Alfa Ibrahima Souréga born 1860, at Dar-es-Salaam ; Alfa Bakar Maliki, who died in 1914, leaving several disciples ; and Tyerno Sidi Jaho Konsolon, born in 1855 at Kansato ; Baba Kalinko, (born 1870 at Nierémadia-Kolen—Timbo) son and disciple of Fodé Lamin Tounkara, a Malinké who is a Karamokho at Kalinko. His father, Fodé Lamin, was one of the earliest disciples of Al Hadj Omar, who appointed him chief of Kalinko.

Baba is subject to epileptic fits and to prolonged periods of mental derangement.

There is another Dinguiraye marabout who may be here mentioned whilst dealing with this locality ; but spiritually he is not attached to the Omarian school, as he is of the Qadriya path, and he and his group are attached to the Mauritanian marabout, Saad Bouh, and will be referred to subsequently when we come to deal with the influence of the Moorish Sheikhs.

(iv) TOKOLORS OF DINGUIRAYE, AND FULAS OF FOUTA JALLON.

Tokolors of Fouta Toro and Fulas of Fouta Jallon are very close akin—by ties of blood in the first place—they are both branches of the same antique Fula stock, though now hybridized each in its own fashion by differing foreign elements absorbed—Serakolé and Joloff in the Fouta of Senegal ; Malinké and Yalunka in that of Guinea. As for linguistic ties, the “Poular” of Fouta Toro and the “Poul Poullé” of Fouta Jallon are only dialects that have sprung from a common origin, and the present day differences between them are not very great or important. The two peoples are further united by historical ties, for the flux and reflux of great migrating movements have led the tribes of the Fulbé from the banks of the Senegal to the high plateaux of Guinea and *vice-versa*. In matters of religion lastly they have much in common, as the mass Islamization of both peoples dates from the same epoch and has developed on parallel lines, reacting strongly and also reciprocally on the two communities. It is therefore

natural that we should observe Tokolors given a cordial welcome in Fouta Jallon throughout its political history. They have often taken a preponderating place in the councils of the Alimamis and chiefs and in the religious education of the country

At Timbo, at Masi, and at Labé, there were always Tokolors in fealty to the lords of the country and often their most faithful executive agents. At Kadé they were—and still are—particularly influential.

Hecquard, who passed through that place in 1850 relates the misadventures that happened to him through the ill-will of Lao Bundu, the son of the chief of Labé, and he mentions the good offices rendered to him on that occasion by the Tokolors of the region. Their experience in the affairs of the peoples of the Soudan, their acquaintance with, and contact with, the French, which permitted and facilitated relations, their qualities of shrewdness, of tact, and of practical intelligence, and their energy, made them fitted to become, as they did, the auxiliaries of the policy of the Alimamis of Fouta Jallon, and their best executives, ministers of state, magistrates, counsellors and ambassadors.

All the travellers who followed one another at Timbo, from Mollien to Noirot, including Hacquard, Lambert, and Sanderval, noted and reported this fact. The settlement of the Tokolors in the Dinguiraye country only served to accentuate the tendency.

The missionaries of Al Hadj Omar and of his successors settled all about as Karamokho, opened schools, posed as pontiffs of Islam, and pushed their way up at Court and as notables in the country-side. In 1880, Sanderval wrote; "In the regions where we find ourselves at present all the kinglets have at their elbow a Tokolor retainer, whom they employ to negotiate for them in matters of war, for its declaration or for the conclusion of peace-treaties as the case may be".

The abundant distribution of admissions into the Tidjani fellowship, made by Al Hadj's Tokolor missionaries in the first place, and then followed up by similar work on the part of their Fula disciples, brought Fouta Jallon little by little into the orbit of the Tidjanism of the Omarians of Dinguiraye. At the present day, save for a few Sadialia (chadelia) and Qadriya groups—and these are composed mainly of Jakhanke and Houbbou—the whole of Fouta may be said to adhere to the Tidjania banner of Al Hadj Omar.

We shall examine this in detail in the next chapter which treats of these Fula groups.

The Fulas were, moreover, given a warm welcome at Dinguiraye. They were even sought after and invited by the Tokolor lords, who desired to populate the region. They tried and partially succeeded in fixing to the soil the Baïlo, or wandering, caste-Fula, the first of the Houbbou; semi-outlawed "gypsies", *who fleeing from the exactions—and quite likely the justice—of the Alimamis, gravitated towards the borders of their country.

Camping first in the Farana region, and then in the Kouroussa Wulada region, they ended up in the Western part of Dinguiraye, to which they gave their name—Baïlo.

They became much inter-bred with Malinké, and being only slightly and imperfectly islamized, and belonging to the most divers and discredited social origins, they were always despised. Samory chased them about, and under his persecution they sought refuge in new settlements along the banks of the Konsili river. The Dinguiraye Alimamis treated them kindly; except Aguibou who by his violence towards them constrained a part of them to emigrate and settle along the Bafin river, where they still are. Besides these, from Al Hadj's time onwards, little groups of Fulas from all parts of Fouta have emigrated towards Dinguiraye. At regular intervals of about a decade each, colonies from Pita, Timbi-Touni, Timbi-Medina, Bomboli, Ditin, Fukumba, Dalaba, Timbo and Koïn, have entered and settled in the Dinguiraye territory, especially in the plain of Tamba Yoro, where all the villages, Dayabé, Jawia, Lansanaya, Wuyabé, Dalba, Foufoya, Loufa, the creation of these dating from various periods throughout the 19th century—as well as Kouroupeng and Ili Malo in the Tamba province, are partially occupied by Fula settlers who originated from the above-mentioned parts of Fouta Jallon.

Soon after 1900 there is the record of another exodus of several more families from Ditiñ, who founded—at the North-West foot of the Libilamba Hills—near the village of Lemonéko, the two centres of Foukoumba Hesso, and Niogo Hesso. They immediately settled down and attached themselves for purposes of administration to the Malinké village of Santigia, under its chief Alfa Kamara. This migration was probably attributable to the extortionate conduct of the Foukoumba chief, Ibrahima Kilé.

Since that date other movements have taken place and have come under the notice of the French authorities, now more experienced and wider awake, and have caused them some little

* The Sierra Leone Protectorate appears to be suffering from a plethora of these gentry at the present time. E. F. S.

anxiety, as they at once imagined these movements to be signs of some political unhealthiness. But a knowledge of the events of the past should have reassured us that religious attractions, historical traditions, and the call of their brethren already settled in that part, were sufficient explanations of this exodus. To these causes may be added the need for new pastures, for the movements of Fulas are usually dictated by the needs of their flocks and herds, and beyond that again, we may remember that inveterate nomadism appears to be one of the fundamental characteristics of the Fula soul.

Similar causes resulted, in 1911-12 again, in the movement of several hundred persons from Foukoumba, Gobiré, and Masi, who joined their Fula brethren in the new Fula villages in the Dinguiraye country: Foukoumba, Niogo Dalaba, Kéballi, Koumbia, Koubi, Dentari, Leï Fello, etc.

And every year there take place other similar, if less important, exoduses. No political effervescence or religious propaganda is at the bottom of it.

The principal religious personalities amongst this new Fula population in this area, are: (1) Mamadou Bobé Gobiré, (from Ditiñ), born in 1844, and living at the Senaya "marga"* in Loufa province.

He remains in constant touch with his home country, where he has, as in Loufa, a certain reputation for saintliness. He is a Tidjani, a disciple of the celebrated marabout Modi Mamadou Gobiré.

(2) Tyerno Mamadou Mansonéya, born about 1845, at Gobiré, is a Tidjani, and is a disciple both of Alfa Ahmadu of Kolladé and of Modi Issaga of Dara Timbo, the latter being a direct disciple of Al Hadj Omar. Tyerno Mamadou has lived at Wuyabé in the Dinguiraye province since the year 1906, when he came to seek relatives and friends who had emigrated earlier. He is a well lettered and respected marabout. His brother Alfa Ousmani also enjoys a certain amount of prestige.

(3) Tyerno Talibé Douéjo, born at 'Ndalaho near Pita about 1868. He was a Tidjani and a disciple of Modi Mamadou Guirlajo and had settled at Koya in Missira province. He died in 1913. He was quite unlearned, and a man of small importance really, to whom one did too great honour in wrongly attributing to him fervent preaching of a Jihad.

His children are farmers in the region.

* "Marga" is a farming village, dependent on a larger residential centre.
E. F. S.

(4) Modi Sori Sibilinké, a Tidjani, son and disciple of Mamadou Tanu. He was born in 1850 at Kankalabé near Ditiñ, and now resides at Koumbia Leï Fello in Dinguiraye province. Better known under the name of Dendembo Ibrahima, he is well lettered and a much respected marabout.

(5) Alfa Mamadou Timbo Foula. He was a Sédianké, and was a disciple of Al Hadj Omar himself. He died some years ago, leaving several "talibé" in his région; notably Imourana, born 1873, a Malinké living at Fouta; Alfa Mamadou Kalé, also a Malinké, living in Tamba province; and Tyerno Mamadou 'Njaiya, of Jolof descent.

Outside these bigger migratory movements of tribes and of families, a certain number of Fula personalities have come and settled down in Tokolor Dinguiraye. Al Hadj Omar brought several along with him when he came, and that generation has only just (1920) died out; one of the most notable of them was Issahaga Ba, better known as Issa Ba. He was a greedy and rapacious character, but remarkably energetic, and one of the earliest and foremost of Aguibou and Maki Tal's agents.

In their name he ruled over the Foulbé of the region, and was also chief of the Foukoumba suburb of Dinguiraye.

Another of these individual immigrants was Fode Fofiana, a man of Yalunka origin from Jegunko near Timbo (Fouta), born about 1840, and settled since 1860 at Mansaréna (Loufa province), but who moves about quite a lot (1920) within and without the confines of the Dinguiraye Cercle.

Note.—It must, of course, be remembered that the author, Monsieur Marty, was writing in about 1920, now 16 years ago, and that consequently many of the old men whom he mentions as then still living and active, must by now be in their graves, and have been replaced on the scene by their disciples and their sons. E. F. S.

The following chapters remain to appear—Insh 'Allahu—in subsequent issues of the *Studies*:—

CHAPTER VI.—THE FULA TIDJANIA.

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| (1) Labé | (6) Téliimélé |
| (2) Touggé | (7) Timbo |
| (3) Mali | (8) Ditiñ |
| (4) Koumbia | (9) Mamou |
| (5) Pitá | |

CHAPTER VII.—MAURITANIAN INFLUENCE.

CHAPTER VIII.—DOCTRINE AND WORSHIP.

CHAPTER IX.—MUSULMAN EDUCATION IN GUINEA.

CHAPTER X.—THE JURIDICAL INSTITUTIONS OF ISLAM AS APPLIED IN GUINEA.

CHAPTER XI.—ISLAM AND ITS RELATION TO LOCAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS—child-birth, name, civil status, childhood, marriage, funerals, women, housing, clothing, etc.

CHAPTER XII.—RULES, PRACTICES AND SURVIVALS FROM THE PAST. CONCLUSION.

“An Appeal”

Sierra Leone Muslimin, readers of this article, if I am honoured by having any: You, whose knowledge of the affairs written of is so much greater and more intimate than mine (a mere translator and a foreigner at that) can be, will you not help to enlighten us others profane, by further contributions, by your comments, and your criticisms and corrections, so that the heroes and leaders of West African Islam, their deeds and their lives, and their influence, may become better known amongst us?

Is not the pen the best schoolmaster, and was it not blessed of Allah and His Prophet? Take it up then, African Muslimin, and spread the truth.

No one more so than the Editor of these our “Sierra Leone Studies,” unless it be the writer of these lines, will, I am sure, welcome your contributions to the common fund of knowledge. For shame do not leave it to us Europeans alone to chronicle the history of your Africa. Give us, for example, biographies of the noted Karamokhoë in our Sierra Leone Protectorate, and explain to us the spiritual and social ties which unite them to their colleagues of the further hinterland, dealt with above.

E. F. S.

BATKANU,

30th June, 1936.

3. LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SUSUS.

*From M. AUBERT's book on Contumiers Indigènes de la Guinée.
(By kind permission of the Author.)*

CIVIL LAW.

CHAPTER I.

THE FAMILY.

1. The family as a unit is based on relationship either by descent or marriage: the former may be either through the male, the more important, or through the female line: the latter is the natural concomitant of the former.

The effects of both are marked, as, for example, in guardianship of children under age which belongs successively to the father, his eldest son, and the latter's brothers, provided always they themselves are of age, and in marriage which is forbidden within certain degrees.

2. The family, in its wide interpretation, embraces all descendants from a common ancestor through the male line: in its narrower and more usual meaning it is limited to a man, his wives and their children.

3. A number of families living together constitute a village while a chiefdom consists of a number of villages. Formerly, all the chiefdoms were under a single King, with hereditary powers, who lived at Toumanea. There is no longer any king, but the political organization is the same except that the chiefdoms are now separate units with their chiefs nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor, while the village headmen are appointed by the Commandant on the advice of the important persons of the locality, subject always to the Lieutenant Governor's approval.

CHAPTER II.

MARRIAGE.

1. The marriage system is polygamous and is legally recognised as such.

2. Wives are entirely dependent on a husband and have no rights other than those allowed to them by him.

3. Polyandry does not exist.

4. The precursor of marriage is a formal engagement which itself is generally preceded by a "promise of marriage". Such a 'promise of marriage' is an undertaking made by the husband of a woman who is with child to a third party to reserve to him the child on its birth, provided it is a girl, with a view to a future marriage to such third party.

The intending husband makes a present to the father and later to the daughter whom he is bound to marry; otherwise he will be called upon to pay damages.

5. A formal engagement is required in the case both of unmarried girls and of women who have already been married but have subsequently become free. The abduction of girls when it takes place, is merely a means of making the parents consent to the marriage: the necessity for a formal engagement is not dispensed with thereby.

6. A formal engagement cannot take place if the marriage which it is intended to precede is itself impossible for any reason. The following are bars to marriages:—

A—Temporary.

1. Age. Normally the man must have reached 21 and the girl 16 years of age.
2. The fact that the man has not been circumcised and the girl has not undergone the usual clitoridean operation.
3. In the case of a woman who has been married but whose marriage has been terminated by annulment, divorce or the death of the husband, the fact that a fixed and sufficient time has not elapsed to allow of the birth of a posthumous or post-matrimonial child.

B—Permanent.

1. Prohibited degrees.
 - (a) In the direct line of descent every degree is prohibited. Collaterally the following are prohibited:—between brother and sister, uncle and niece or aunt and nephew.
 - (b) Through relationships by marriage. The following marriages are illegal:—between a man and his deceased uncle's wife, between a woman and her deceased aunt's husband, between a man's widows or divorced wives and his sons by other wives, between a man and his mother-in-law, between a woman and her father-in-law.

2. Madness or the impotence of the man properly authenticated.
3. Difference of tribe is no bar to marriage but difference of religion may form a temporary one.

7. If there is no bar to the marriage, the formal engagement may take place. This consists in a number of visits being paid to the head of the woman's family by some third person on behalf of the suitor who on each occasion sends various presents e.g. kola nuts, money, etc. The acceptance thereof implies acceptance of the marriage contract and is followed by the grant of a dowry.

8. The dowry is the financial guarantee to the marriage. The amount thereof depends on the financial and social position of the families concerned, and to the amount agreed is always added a fixed sum of 21frs. 25. The dowry may be paid in a lump sum or part may be paid before marriage and the rest afterwards by fixed instalments. Failure to pay the full sum within the time fixed constitutes grounds for dissolution of the marriage.

9. The marriage itself is held on a date fixed by both parties and is a public ceremony. The families of both parties, in the presence of numerous witnesses, publicly declare their consent to the marriage and state the amount fixed as dowry money and the conditions of payment. Gifts of kola nuts are then exchanged and the occasion is one of public rejoicing. The same evening the bride is conducted to her husband's house. Proof of the bride's virginity must be established the next day by production of the sheet on which she slept her first night: failing such proof, the husband is entitled to have the marriage dissolved. This does not apply where the bride is enceinte by her fiancé prior to the marriage. It remains to note that the wife can always ask for the dissolution of the marriage if her husband is found to be consistently impotent.

10. One result of marriage is that the wife ceases to belong to her own family, though she may return to it in the case of divorce or annulment of the marriage. The husband continues to enjoy the same position and rights in his family as previously, while his wife now becomes a member thereof.

11. The following are the rights and duties resultant on marriage.

- (a) The husband has complete control over his wife and may even use force to make her obey. He may have several wives but must treat them all equally: he is not however bound to be physically faithful to them.

He has absolute powers over the family property and may make any contract relative thereunto without the consent of his wives. He is however bound to feed and clothe his wives, also to assist and protect them. He is also under an obligation to help his wives' parents if they are old and destitute and have no sons of their own to look after them.

- (b) A wife's rights, in respect to her husband, result from his duties towards her. Her duties are to look after the house, cook, wash, keep the yard clean and assist in the work in the garden and on the farm. She is also required to nurse her husband if ill, to submit to normal marital relationship and to be physically faithful. Any infidelity on her part will be severely punished by her husband who in addition has the right to claim damages from her lover and also to divorce her. The wife is also expected to show proper respect to her husband's family and to give her mother-in-law assistance in innumerable minor ways.

12. Dissolution of Marriage. A marriage terminates by the death of husband or wife, or by divorce at the instance of either of them.

- (a) Death. In the case of the husband's death, the wife reverts to her own family, after the usual period of mourning (4 months). One of the deceased's brothers, preference being given to the eldest, may ask to marry the widow, and with her father's consent this will be allowed. In such case no further dowry is paid but in all other ways the second marriage is a similar function to the first. Children born of the first as well as of the second marriage belong to the second husband, subject to his refunding to his wife's family any expenses incurred by them in the maintenance of the children during her widowhood.

The death of the wife has no effect on the status of her children who continue under the control of their father but succeed to any property of their mother. The dowry money previously paid to the deceased's family on her marriage is not refunded.

- (b) Divorce by the husband. A husband may divorce his wife for continued infidelity, for persistent refusal to obey him, or for spreading slanderous reports about him. She is then handed over to the go-between who was employed at the performance of the marriage

ceremony and who returns her to her own family. There she is re-established in her former position and with her former rights. The dowry paid for her is not refunded. She cannot remarry until after an interval of 6 months and the proceedings in connexion with such second marriage are in all respects the same as at the first marriage. With the consent of her family she can again marry her first husband, who, in such case, only pays half the previous dowry.

Any child born during the six months following on a divorce belongs to the second husband, unless the latter exercises his right of disowning it; further the child stays with its mother in any case until it is weaned.

- (c) Divorce by the wife. A wife may insist on a divorce from her husband if he fails to fulfil his marital obligations towards her and particularly if he has abandoned her for three or more years. The wife then leaves her husband's home and returns to her family. After some attempts at reconciliation have been made by either the wife's father or by her husband, the latter is summoned before the chief, who with the assistance of his counsellors, hears both parties and, if they cannot be reconciled, pronounces a decree of divorce between them. The wife then reverts to her former position in her own family but cannot be married again, even to her divorced husband, until six months have elapsed. Children born during this period belong to the first husband. The dowry money is refunded by the woman's family to the divorced husband, unless the ground of divorce is the husband's proved impotence or unless children have been born during the marriage or in the succeeding six months.

CHAPTER III.

LEGITIMACY.

Legitimate Children. Normally children born in wedlock or within a fixed period after the termination of the marriage are legitimate. The husband is however allowed to prove that he is not the father but without detriment to his rights of guardianship.

2. Only a legitimate child has full rights. He is christened on the 8th day after birth. In his youth he receives free board and lodging and free clothing. Later, if he is a male, he receive

a settlement on marriage. The child's parents are bound to look after it, educate it and, if a son, find it work. The education of any sons is the more particular care of the father when they attain seven years of age.

3. In return, the child is bound to venerate and obey the parents, who are entitled to punish the child for any failure, such punishment being inflicted by the father in the case of a son, by the mother in the case of a daughter. The child must hand over to his parents most of the profits from any work undertaken by him and also assist them in case of need; nor may he leave them without permission.

4. Exceptionally the child may be put in pledge by the father to one of his creditors, up to 16 years of age in the case of a boy, 12 in the case of a girl. In such case the work done by the child must be commensurate with his or her strength. In case of an accident to the child or its death the creditor must pay an indemnity to the father. The child may always be redeemed by any members of the family who furthermore may force the father to effect such redemption and in exercise of their rights may sell his property to meet the amount of the debt outstanding.

Illegitimate Children. These may be born out of wedlock, or in adultery, or from an incestuous connection.

5. The first named may become legitimate by the subsequent marriage of their father and mother and thus acquire the rights of legitimate children. If not, they must be brought up either by their father, if he acknowledges them, or by the family of whichever parent dies first, subject always to the taking of an oath by both parents with respect to the child's birth.

6. A child born in adultery is regarded as legitimate, unless it is conceived during a prolonged absence of the husband and the mother refuses to reveal the true father's name. In such case, though treated like the other legitimate children, it has no right of inheritance to the father's property.

Where a man is proved to be a child's actual father, he automatically incurs parental rights and obligations towards such child.

7. A child born from incestuous connection is abandoned and exposed to death, if such connection was between father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister, a woman and her father's brother, or a man and his father's sister. The guilty parties are either punished by death or flogged until they are unconscious. This is not the case where the parents are a man and his mother's sister, or a woman and her mother's brother, or a man and his sister-in-law, or a woman and her brother-in-law.

In such cases the incest is punished by payment of an indemnity by the guilty party to the family of the other party. A subsequent properly celebrated marriage provides the child a home but such a child is never considered to enjoy full rights.

8. A woman is not permitted, on her own account, to acknowledge a child not born in marriage. A father may do so, or may be forced to do so: in such case the child's rights are the same as those of a legitimate child.

Adoptions. Every person who has reached 40 years of age without having a child and who has no legitimate descendants, may adopt, but once only.

The adopted person must be a nephew through either the male or female line of the adopter: an only son cannot be adopted, nor one aged more than 16.

Girls may not be adopted. The consent of the adopted child's father or eldest brother must be obtained.

The legal effects of adoption are the same as those of legitimate birth. The adopted child may however inherit from his true mother. The same restrictions with regard to marrying members of his adopted father's family apply to the adopted child as apply with regard to his marrying members of his true family.

CHAPTER IV.

GUARDIANSHIP AND DEPRIVATION OF RIGHTS.

A. *Guardianship.*—All persons less than 25 years of age are, unless married, under the guardianship of their father. In the case of the death of their mother, whose legal heirs they are, they are not entitled to administer the estate, which instead is looked after by their paternal grandfather or grandmother, or, failing this, by their maternal grandmother or her sister. An adopted child whose adopted father dies during the child's minority, passes into the guardianship of his real father, but the latter may delegate the rights and duties thereof to his eldest son, if he has attained 25 years of age.

2. Where the father, before his death, fails to nominate a guardian by his will (who may be any male person but is usually a near relative, the consent of such testamentary guardian to the guardianship in any case being essential) the guardianship, on his death, passes as follows: to his eldest son who has attained his majority, to his elder brother, to his father, to his father's brother, to his nephew or cousin on the paternal side. On the guardian's death, the guardianship passes to the member of the family who comes next in the above order.

3. In the case of a stranger, the local persons of importance select the guardian for any children who are minors; the person selected is either the deceased's nearest male relative, or a stranger from the same country as the deceased, or finally some person of standing, e.g. the headman of the village. The powers of such a guardian are more limited than those of an ordinary guardian: but he is under the same obligation to render accounts of the property on the termination of the guardianship.

4. The ordinary guardian has the same powers and rights as had the father. He deals with the ward's property as his own. He is bound to maintain and educate the wards: in the case of girls, to get them married and, in the case of boys to make a settlement for them. The children are bound to obey him and help him in his work, and even to assist him financially in his old age. They cannot however be put in pledge by him. In the interests of his wards he may make use of any of the following of the property:—Money inherited with the estate, money realized from settlement of debts due to them, presents made to them on the occasion of their father's funeral, and the yearly produce from the crops and the first trees.

He has the right to enjoy the use of any of the ward's houses and furniture, tools and implements, boats and animals but he has no power to sell them, except that boats and animals may be sold for the maintenance of the children. If the estate consists primarily of money, the guardian may only make use of the interest and is held responsible for the capital. On the other hand he must pay any debts of the estate, and expenses in connection with the maintenance not only of the children but of their houses, fruit trees, boats and cattle.

5. Guardianship is terminated by the ward attaining 25 years of age or by his previous marriage. Should the guardian die before this date or be removed by the deceased's family for maladministration, he is replaced by the person next entitled in order to the guardianship.

6. On the demand of the ward in the year when he reaches his majority, the guardian is bound to produce accounts and an inventory is drawn up of the property remaining. Half the crops of the year in question are given to the guardian. If the guardian has sold the boats and animals of his ward he must account for the money received from the sale. In the case of houses, fruit, trees and property other than boats and animals, he is bound either to hand them over to his ward or to pay their value. The ward has a lien on the guardian's property for value thereof.

B. Deprivation of Rights.—Any person who is shown to be either an idiot or a lunatic is deprived of his civil rights. Such action is taken by the headman of the village on the advice of his counsellors. A guardian is chosen, in the order in which the guardianship would pass in the case of minority, from the relations of the unfortunate; the position of such guardian is the same as that of an ordinary guardian. The guardianship is ended by the death of the idiot or by his recovering his mental faculties. The guardian is bound to render an account of the property.

CHAPTER V.

PROPERTY.

Among the Susus, property originates from the occupation, in times gone by, of the country by a number of families either on unoccupied land or else after defeating and driving away the former inhabitants. Once settled, the original occupants divided the land among themselves and subsequently allowed other families to settle, when any arrived, retaining always for themselves the ownership of the land which passed to their descendants on their death.

2. The above practice is the basis of the present system under which the inhabitants of the country have only a right to use the land and cannot dispose of it freely. Ownership only exists in respect of certain property and then frequently in but a restricted form.

3. A man acquires the ownership of property either by making things, e.g. houses, manufactures, crops, or by taking possession of natural products, e.g., trees, wild animals, fish or the fruit of the first mentioned. Ownership therein is transferred by sale, by exchange, by gift or by testamentary bequest.

4. Subject to the general limitations as to the rights of ownership explained in paragraph 2, all property may be classed as either real or personal.

Real Property.—This category comprises all houses and buildings, trees, fruit and crops not yet harvested, and boats. Any conveyance thereof must be accompanied by certain public formalities. Standing crops cannot be sold but fruit not yet picked may be. No right by prescription exists to real property which the true owner can always reclaim; but the inhabitant of a house, who on three separate occasions has rethatched the roof, thereby becomes the owner. The owner of a piece of land may grant somebody else the right to build a house thereon, but he is entitled to re-enter into possession or to eject the occupier in certain cases (e.g. theft, slander, arson, or threats by the occupier).

Houses also can be the subject of temporary joint ownership. Kola and palm trees must be distinguished from other trees; the nuts may only be picked at certain periods of the year fixed by the headman of the village (see below on "Land Tenure").

Personal Property.—All movable objects (except boats) are classed as personal property, e.g. harvested crops, fruit that has been gathered, and wild fruits, etc., once they have been reduced into possession. The owner can dispose of them freely by sale, exchange, gift or testamentary bequest. Possession is a proof of ownership but no right by prescription is recognized. Animals are classed sometimes as real, sometimes as personal property. Any sale or pledge thereof must take place publicly. Honey and wax from wild bees belong to the person who discovers them; the same products procured from private hives belong to the apiarist.

System of Land Tenure.—The grant of the right to make use of a piece of land is accompanied by certain formalities. The applicant must be presented by his landlord to the village headman and his counsellors. When the time comes for the farms to be made he is allowed a piece of unused land that he cultivates alone or in conjunction with his landlord. After the harvest, if he wishes to build a house, he must first obtain permission and then only build it at the place where he is told. The building of the house is accompanied by certain ceremonies.

Even when he has been admitted to membership of the village community, the stranger can no more dispose freely of the land than the original villagers themselves. His rights of user cannot be sold, let out on hire, nor pledged: they may however be transferred as a gift to some other person, provided always that the transaction takes place before witnesses.

On his death his rights pass by inheritance or by testamentary bequest. Where there is no person to inherit, the rights lapse to the village headman who, with the advice of his counsellors, divides them according to the needs of the village.

By the continued enjoyment of his rights of user of a piece of land a person obtains the right to keep the crops of such land that he has cultivated and to continue it. Where, after once being cultivated, a piece of land has been allowed to fall fallow, it may be cultivated again by some other person, subject to the permission of the previous occupier.

Plantations of kola and other fruit trees cannot be made without permission being previously obtained from the village headman and the local 'Registrar of Land'.

In each village a certain amount of land is allowed to lie fallow and is cultivated in turn by the various families.

The boundaries of the land of the various families are checked every year. They can be altered at the request of a user who proves that his land is insufficient, and after an agreement has been made before the village headman and the 'Registrar'.

Similarly a village can grant land to a neighbouring village. The head of any family who has surrendered the use of part of his land one year, must similarly surrender a different part the next year, unless he can prove that he requires it all for his own family.

In a copse of kola trees it will generally be found that different families own particular trees. Each family has the right to plant new trees therein and gather the nuts thereof.

A stranger cannot start a cattle farm without the permission of the village headman and the 'Registrar'. The occupier of such a farm may always erect buildings thereon, and also plant it with crops. He can dispose of it by gift in the presence of witnesses.

Grazing lands are common land for the use of the inhabitants of the village. The possessor of a piece of occupied land can, with the consent of the headman, give part of it to others. Where the land is no longer occupied, the consent of the previous occupant is necessary as well as that of the village headman and of the chief. The consent of the latter is also necessary if the land has never been previously occupied: the 'Registrar' must also be informed.

The procedure is the same where the land is to be built upon and is outside the village. In any case the occupier can freely plant fruit trees without permission.

Certain trees, and their fruits, are communal property unless they are situated on fenced-in land, when they belong to the occupier. Oil-Palms, except those growing on permanently cultivated land, or inside private yards and compounds, or on land being actually farmed, may be made use of by all, during the periods of the year fixed by the headman. Strangers with the permission of their landlords may also participate in the general picking of palm nuts. All palm nuts collected on the first day belong to the Chief of the chieftdom. All collected subsequently and before the end of the permitted period, belong to the person who collected them. Watchmen are employed to prevent theft.

Servitudes and Easements.—Apart from the use of land, other rights of user have been established by custom.

A spring of water may be used by anybody but must not be contaminated.

The flow of rivers and streams may be diverted from their channels on to occupied land by the riparian owners: where the land is not occupied it may be diverted by anybody. The right of user of a well belongs to the land owner: in practice everybody enjoys it.

A public right of way exists everywhere except through private compounds and over standing crops, the farmer whereof is not therefore bound to fence them off. A public road cannot be closed on the grounds that a farm is to be made across it. The access to a salt mine or to a jetty must be left clear.

Hunting is free everywhere unless the occupier of a piece of land forbids it, in which case only will any damage caused give rise to a right of action. Game belongs to the person who kills it. A man who accidentally kills another while hunting must pay the costs of his funeral.

Fishing is free and any fish caught belong to the fisherman.

Various co-operative organizations exist between fishermen, rowers and boat-owners, who divide the catch according to agreement.

Life Interests.—Life interests are rare. A man may, by will, give his wife a life interest in all his goods: it ceases on her death. She is bound to preserve the property which, on her death, passes to her late husband's heir. She has also the control of such heir and must make a settlement on him on his marriage. She may however, in conjunction with him, sell all or part of the property. The life interest is not terminated by her remarriage.

A life interest may be granted, even while he is alive, by a man to a third person to whom he wishes to express his gratitude and to whom he grants, for example, the use of a kola tree for life. On the death of the *cestui que vie* the property reverts to the giver or his heirs.

The real father of a child that has been adopted has a life interest in any property to which the latter succeeds on the death of the adopter.

A father has a life interest in the property of his eldest son who has died after attaining his majority and who is survived by brothers who are likewise of age.

Rights by Occupation.—The right to occupy a house becomes a right of ownership thereof when the occupier has rethatched the house on three distinct occasions.

CHAPTER VI.

INHERITANCE, GIFTS AND TESTAMENTARY BEQUESTS.

Inheritance. The order of inheriting depends on whether the deceased is a man or a woman.

On the death of a man. If the deceased has left any children, only the sons inherit, the eldest receiving the largest share. Failing sons, the order of inheritance is grandchildren; eldest surviving brother or, if dead, his descendants; father; cousin, son of the father's sister; nephew, sister's son; second cousin; great-nephew; village headman. Succession is 'per capita' and not 'per Stirpes'. If the heir is an only son he succeeds to all the property and cannot refuse the inheritance. If the sons are under age the guardian looks after the property which is divided among them. If the children are only daughters they inherit nothing, but the heir must look after them until their marriage for which he is responsible. In practice they stay with their mother who brings them up even if she re-marries.

The property of a son, who is of age but dies without issue, passes to his eldest brother subject to a life interest in favour of his father. If there are children surviving, some of age and some not, the eldest of the former inherits and has the custody of the latter. If all the children are under age, the property passes to the eldest brother of the deceased who gets the custody of the children. Failing children and brothers, the property passes to the father. A child not of age can only have inheritable property where he has already inherited from his mother or his adopted father. On the death of such child the property passes to the eldest brother who is of age: failing such, to the other brothers under age and who are under the guardianship of their father. The property of children under age and whose father is not their guardian passes to the nearest heir (e.g. brother).

When the property has to be divided, everything is divided including land, the eldest of the heirs receiving a larger portion than the others. The eldest also takes all the jewellery but he must house his younger brothers until each one has his own house built by them together.

The compound and crops are owned by them all jointly. Any boats are sold and the price received divided among the heirs.

Each of the heirs is responsible for the debts in proportion to the amount of his inheritance. Where after the realization of the whole property the liabilities exceed the assets, the creditors may sue the maternal relations of the debtor.

On the death of a woman. Where the deceased leaves sons of age, they inherit any money, jewellery, cattle and kola trees and divide them equally. The other personal property passes to the deceased sisters or half sisters by the same father; failing them, to her mother. Failing either sisters or mother, the whole property passes to the sons. Where the property cannot be divided it is sold and the price received divided. The sons also receive from their father any produce from the deceased's kola trees which cannot be divided equally.

Where the deceased leaves both sons and daughters, the former inherit the money, half the jewellery and kola trees, and all the cattle.

The daughters inherit half the jewellery, the clothes and the kitchen pots and pans and all the kola trees if these cannot be divided equally. Each daughter receives an equal share.

Where only daughters survive, they inherit all the property, except the money which their father keeps, and divide it among themselves, the elder daughters receiving the bigger shares. The eldest daughter looks after the younger ones until they marry.

Where there are no children surviving, the order of inheritance is, deceased's eldest full sister, her brother, her husband, her uncle, her nephew.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

These are the same for both men and women. As soon as the death is made known, all the deceased's property, except the cooking pots, etc. which are required for daily use, is locked up in one or more rooms, this being done everywhere where the deceased leaves goods. The keys are then handed to some person of trust. The mourning then begins.

The last rites are carefully and privately undertaken by persons of the same sex as the deceased. The body is washed from the head downwards, dressed in a cloth, wrapped in a mat and put outside on a bier. The family and the inhabitants of the village then come and say a last good-bye to the deceased. While this is taking place the uncle or brother (never the sons) of the deceased ask any debtors or creditors of the estate to make themselves known and this they do. The bier is then carried to the cemetery. The body is buried in a grave (less deep for Mohammedans than for pagans) facing South ; it is laid on its right side and covered with sticks followed by earth. Where deceased is a man, only men go to the burial, the deceased's widows being shut up in their houses, where they must remain for seven days. After the burial the guests are given a meal and leave immediately afterwards.

The next day the personal property that had been locked away is produced and anything belonging to deceased's widows or to third parties is returned to them : the rest is then again locked up. At the same time an inventory is made of the harvested crops and these are put away in a safe place. For seven days the family and relations receive visits and presents : and on the seventh day another dinner is given. On the 40th day after the death, a third dinner is given followed by the handing over of the property to the heirs. The words of conveyance used on the occasion differ according to whether the heirs are the deceased's children, brothers or other relatives. The goods are then divided as stated above. Mourning last for $4\frac{1}{2}$ months but is only kept by the widows who are not allowed entire freedom of movement until the end of the period.

A fourth and last dinner, bigger than the three former, is given at the end of the mourning.

If, within 40 days after the death, the heir, though summoned, has not appeared the sequestration of the property continues, the person having the custody thereof taking precautions to preserve the property.

This may go on for a year or more after which the property will be handed over to the person next in order of inheritance. An inventory of the property having first been taken.

Gifts.—Only absolute owners of property can make a complete gift thereof ; persons enjoying life interests or rights of user may however make gifts within the limits of their interests. The givers must be in their right minds and not of extreme age. Wives may make gifts to their husbands, or to third parties with the husband's consent.

All real and personal property may be transferred by gift, including the family land and any house built on it. There are no legal restrictions on the giver.

Personal property may pass by gift without the need of witnesses : in the case of real property the presence of the local persons of importance and of the family of the giver is required.

Full rights of ownership or user, as the case may be, are immediately transferred by the gift to the beneficiary. All gifts are irrevocable.

Testamentary Bequests.—The power of a father to devise property by will is limited : if he has sons he cannot make particular legacies except to his heirs and his daughters.

The testator must be of sound mind and not actuated by anger nor under duress. General legacies can only be given to the legal heir, except that a father may be preferred to a brother or a cousin to a grandfather or nephew. Particular legacies are absolute and cannot be made conditionally. Their importance varies according to the position of the heir in the order of inheritance. If one of the members of the family is already dead, the share that he would have had may be divided by the general legatee among the other relatives. Particular legatees are naturally relatives whose place in the order of inheritance is lower than that of the general legatee. The latter may also make legacies to some of the wives or to all (e.g. of money, jewellery, cattle or kola trees) : and also to the daughters.

Women cannot make general legacies. Their particular legacies are of little importance and can be made in favour of their sisters, mother or husband : but, if the heir is a sister, more substantial legacies may be left to the husband, mother, brother or even to friends.

A will is made publicly either orally or in writing. Little formality accompanies a woman's will. Effect is given to the will on the seventh day after the death.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTRACTS.

The presence of witnesses is generally necessary for the completion of contracts. The parties concerned must have full contractual capacity. Third party rights cannot arise from contract.

SALE

The precursor of sale was barter which still exists in the country particularly between producer and trader (e.g. raw products for manufactured goods).

Only certain persons can freely buy and sell. Women must have the permission of their husbands or the head of the family in order to buy or sell cattle, houses, trees, or boats : for the sale or purchase of other property they are not thus restricted. Children, having themselves no right to possess, cannot accordingly sell or buy except with the consent of their father or guardian, and then only things of little value.

The consent of the head of the family, even if not necessary, is usually asked for the sale by men of fruit trees, cattle, houses and boats : it is not required for the sale of raw products or harvested crops, nor for things made by an individual personally (except houses and boats). The same rules apply to a purchaser. In either case the sale is only strictly followed in the case of people living with the head of the family : when they are living apart from him they can sell and buy freely everything except family property.

Anything can be bought and sold except the following :—the right of user of land, trees whose produce is gathered by everybody together e.g. oil-palms, mango trees, standing crops and fruit not yet ripe (except bananas and mangoes), public land, certain property of minors e.g. kola trees and houses, property subject to a life interest, family houses. The seller must be the owner of what he sells or have the right to sell it for specific purposes (e.g. as guardian).

The sale of personal property is completed by the goods being handed over or by the price fixed being paid in full or in part. The presence of a witness is not essential. In the case of real property witnesses must be present. The seller is bound to hand over the article sold unless as for instance in the case of fruit not yet picked it is destroyed by accident or act of God. He is responsible for hidden defects which, if found, are grounds for a reduction in price and even, in the case of fraud, for the payment of a penalty.

The purchaser must pay the price fixed and will be forced to do so. The price is paid in French money.

Cancellation of sale may be asked for by either of the parties to whom it has caused a substantial loss subject to proof thereof.

HIRE.

With the development of the people and their organization has come the development of the contract of hire which more or less resembles the system under French Law. Two pre-eminently Susu types of contract are in connexion with "Communal working parties" and "Servants."

Hire of parties.—An individual may be engaged to do a specific job, e.g., clearing a farm, building or repairing a house, building a boat or making a piece of furniture. He receives a fixed price part of which is generally received in advance.

If he is under the guardianship of another, he must, before contracting, obtain his guardian's consent. He is responsible for the proper execution of the work and, if he does it badly, has either to re-do it or accept less pay. He is not however responsible for damage caused by act of God. The employer is bound to pay the agreed price if the work has been properly carried out. In case of dispute, as in all local disputes, either the village headman decides the matter or it goes before the Native Court. The contract can always be cancelled at the instance of a guardian whose ward has not previously asked and obtained his consent before undertaking the contract.

Another form of hiring persons is known under the guise of what may best be described as "Communal working parties," banded together for agricultural purposes. These working parties are composed of young people, male and female, under a temporary foreman. They can be called upon by the heads of any families, who are represented therein to work their farms for them. They receive no pay but are fed and given kola nuts and palm wine, etc., also on the completion of the harvesting they are granted a small share of the crops. A person of importance who is not represented by a member of his family in such a working party, may yet obtain their services on application and payment to the foreman. The engagement of a labourer for a long period is usually effected as follows:—

A man from a distant village receives the hospitality of a well known person and asks him to find him work. He stays with him for an indefinite length of time (sometimes for years) and, in return for the work that he does, is relieved of all expenses and sometimes even gets married at the expense of his employer. He must work for his employer four days a week, three only during the palm kernel season, the rest of his time being his own. These persons are known as 'servants'. In theory they can go away whenever they like. In practice they are often detained for faults

alleged to have been committed and only succeed in getting away by flight. Quite regular in its initial stages, the contract tends to develop into a thinly veiled form of slavery.

A contract for transport, by land, river or sea, places the contractor under the obligation to deliver the identical goods that he has received to the consignee: failure to do so renders him liable to return the goods or their value. He is not however responsible for damage caused by act of God or due to an inherent defect in the goods carried and not disclosed at the time of acceptance. As far as the consignee is concerned he is bound to pay the price agreed and may be sued for it.

Hire of property.—The hire of property is chiefly restricted to house property and takes place especially in commercial towns. The tenant is only responsible for repairs to the roof. Where a house is destroyed by fire the landlord, not the tenant, is bound to rebuild it. The landlord has a lien on the furniture of the tenant for payment of the rent, which is usually exceedingly small.

The rent is payable at the end of each month.

LOAN.

A loan may be of two kinds: loan of an article for its use and return: loan of an article for its use and the return of its equivalent.

The former is very common and can have as its object any property except fruit trees. The loan is free. No witnesses are necessary except for the loan of boats. The borrower is bound to look after the article loaned and to return it at the agreed date in the same condition in which he received it. Failing this he must return either its equivalent or its value and may be sued for that purpose.

The borrower may only use the article loaned for its normal purpose and, in the case of boats, the charterer may not alter its port of destination.

The loan of an article for its use and the return of its equivalent is also practised. Its legal definition is vague and it resembles a mixture of sale, barter and hire. Such a loan carries interest either in money or in kind. Mohammedans consider such interest, which their canon law forbids, as a share of future profits. The rate of interest is sometimes high, even as much as 100%. Important loans are made in the presence of witnesses. The lender must be the owner of the thing lent and the borrower's only obligation is to him and not to third parties.

The lender is not responsible for hidden defects nor those disclosed by the use of the article. The borrower is bound, within or before the time fixed, to return to the lender goods of the same quantity and value as he received. Extensions of time are frequently given, subject to extra interest. If the debtor does not pay up after a final extension of time his property is sold. Formerly he was bound to work for his creditor until such time as a third party paid off the debt : nowadays such matters go before the Native Courts.

PLEDGE.

All property that can be sold, except fruit and harvested crops, can be pledged in the presence of witnesses. Special formalities are required for the pledging of kola trees or animals : at the agreed date, if the debtor has not paid off the debt, the creditor with the concurrence of the village headman sells the kola nuts or the animals and pays himself from the price received. The creditor cannot himself sell the property pledged. An order from the Chief or the Native Court is required.

AGENCY

Agency is not a well defined contract. It is more of a gratuitous undertaking by somebody to do something for a friend, e.g. conclude a marriage contract. The Agent is not bound to fulfil his promise : he can withdraw from it or the principal can revoke the order. Where the undertaking is carried out, the Agent is thanked by the principal and given a present.

DEPOSIT.

This contract is very common and generally free. Any movable good can be the object thereof. The depositary is responsible for the safe custody and maintenance of the article deposited and must return it as soon as requested. The depositor is responsible for any defects in the article which prevent it being properly maintained : the depositary should take care to call the attention of witnesses to any such defects. This type of contract is especially used for the safe custody of cattle, which are handed over to the watchman or ' servant ' of the owner of a cattle farm. The owner of the farm feeds and houses the watchman and receives sometimes from the depositors a fee varying from 2francs 50 to 5francs per month. The milk of the cattle is also his property.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRESCRIPTION.

Prescription is unknown. As long as the owner of an article can, with the help of witnesses prove ownership, the article will be returned to him after any length of time unless the person in possession can himself prove by witnesses that the article was properly sold or given to him.

CHAPTER IX.

OF CIVIL LIABILITY FOR TORTS.

Formerly tortious acts resulted for their doers in punishment in proportion to the gravity, or the generally considered gravity, of their offences. The punishment varied from a few lashings to the infliction of the death penalty. If, unknown to us, the system still continues in many places there is a tendency for it to disappear and to be replaced by the penalties known to the French Code of Law. Hence any enumeration of these punishments would be of purely historical value.

In addition, however, to the corporal punishment inflicted certain measures were also taken with the object of indemnifying the injured parties or their family for the harm done. Here again former practice no longer continues in its entirety. Thus, in the case of manslaughter, the offender had to give a slave to the victim's family: a proceeding no longer allowed by French Law. Again, when no corporal punishment was inflicted, a fine was imposed which was not paid to the victim or his family. The payment to the latter of damages was, on the whole, rare: and the custom of the French Legal system to allow such damages has led the Susus to see the advantages thereof and to demand its introduction.

In different places in this article it has been pointed out that if someone cannot fulfil an obligation his family or his relatives are bound to do so for him. That however is a form of vicarious contractual responsibility not of legal liability for tortious acts, which latter is greatly restricted and seldom encountered.

4. KISI CUSTOMS.

From M. AUBERT'S book on Coutumiers Indigènes de la Guinée.

TRANSLATED BY S. M. DESPICHT.

(By kind permission of the Author.)

The Kisis, of Mandingo stock, inhabit the provinces of Kisidougou and Gueckedou of which they form 73% of the population.

They are grouped into villages under the authority of a chief chosen by themselves, whose selection is confirmed by us. Several villages form a chiefdom. By virtue of the independent character of the natives of this part, the number of villages and also of chiefdoms is considerably high. There is in the Province of Kisidougou an average of 2,000 natives per chiefdom out of a total population of less than 100,000 inhabitants.

CHAPTER I.

THE FAMILY.

The Kisi family is comprised of a certain number of natives related by marriage and consanguinity. There is a head of the family, usually the oldest member. The family thus comprises the man, his brothers, their wives and children and grandchildren.

The daughters who have married outside the family no longer belong to it, but they may return to the family if their marriage is dissolved. In this way, it is clear that the ties of consanguinity take a higher place than those of marriage, and that descent on the side of the male carries more right than that through the female, thus the mother is never the guardian of her own children; at her death her possessions pass to her children, or if she has no children a portion goes to her husband, and the remainder to her own family.

On the death of the head of the family, he is succeeded by his eldest brother who takes over the wives and children of the deceased. If there is no brother, the eldest of the sons of the deceased takes his place and marries the widows, with the exception of his own mother who is free to re-marry elsewhere.

The Kisís remain to this day fetichists under the influence of guardian spirits, incarnate in certain animals, chimpanzee, crocodile, dog, hippopotamus, etc. which they are forbidden to kill.

CHAPTER II.

MARRIAGE.

Marriage is based on dowry paid to the family of the bride by the family of the suitor. It is only valid if the dowry has been paid, wholly or in part. A man can have as many wives as he can afford. Polyandry is unknown. The marriage is preceded by a betrothal which may be of long or short duration. The parents of the young man or his friends approach the parents of the bride and offer as a present four kola nuts and a native mat. If these presents are accepted, it means that the proposal is also accepted and the young girl may marry the man chosen for her, unless she has persuaded a young man whom she prefers to pay a larger dowry than the first suitor has paid, in which case the latter will receive back the presents he has given. During the betrothal the future husband will give presents to his bride or her family and will help them in whatever work they have. If he has sexual relation with the girl and there is a child by that union, he is bound to marry her by paying certain damages or to pay the whole of the dowry agreed upon. If sexual relationship has not taken place, he is at liberty to break his engagement if he wishes, and his presents are returned. If the breaking off comes from the girl's family, the dowry is to be returned to the suitor.

Betrothal, and consequently marriage, is forbidden between certain members of the same family : father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. Cousins are permitted to marry as well as brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

Differences in tribe and religion do not constitute a bar to marriage : but nevertheless people who follow the trade of blacksmith intermarry with those of the same calling. The marriage takes place at a time agreed upon by the families and only if the betrothed are of a proper age (about eighteen years of age for man, fifteen for girl).

A large family gathering is held on this occasion. Further gifts of kola are made as well as other gifts and a proper estimate of the dowry is given. At the end of the day the bride is taken to the husband's home. The consummation of the marriage is made known the following day. If the young girl was not a virgin, the husband can either keep her or hand her back to her family. If he keeps her the parents of the woman and her lover pay damages; if he returns her to her family, he can recover his dowry.

Respective rights and duties of the married pair :

- (a) The husband must feed his wife. He must clothe her, house her, and give her all care and attention. He has also a right to chastise her but he is not compelled to remain faithful to her. The wife must obey her husband and be faithful to him. She is in charge of the house and must help him in his farm. She cannot leave the home without his authority.
- (b) The husband and wife must educate their children and give them every care.
- (c) As regards parents-in-law : the husband must help his parents-in-law if they are in need. The wife owes allegiance to the head of the husband's family now that she has left her own family.

As regards dowry : In principle the whole of the dowry should be paid before marriage, but this can be a matter for arrangement between the two families. The dowry is in money or in kind, usually in both. There is no fixed amount. The average dowry is about 500 francs. Non-payment of dowry or of the portion remaining due can be made a reason for dissolving marriage.

The marriage can be dissolved either at the wish of one of the parties or by common agreement, or by the death of either party. In the first case it is the husband who divorces the wife and never the wife who divorces the husband.

In the second case the woman leaves her husband and returns to her family or the husband seeks divorce by reason of adultery or misconduct on the part of his wife, who then in this instance may return to her family. In both cases all dowry paid by the husband is refunded to him, and the wife is then free to re-marry.

The death of either party puts an end to the marriage. If it is the husband who dies, the wife usually passes to the heir of the deceased (brother or son). She can however marry again elsewhere, but only after a lapse of three months and on condition that the dowry has previously been returned. If she stays with the heir to the deceased husband, no further dowry need be paid. If the wife dies, the children remain with the father and dowry is not refunded.

CHAPTER III.

ISSUE.

Children are legitimate, if born during wedlock. Natural, if born out of wedlock. There is little distinction between the issue of an adulterous union and legitimate children. Incest does not exist. The legitimate child is the offspring of a father and mother who have been publicly married.

On the 7th day after the birth of the child, it will receive a name and a family feast will be given. The child has a right to be cared for by the parents, but also owes them complete obedience, in the case of a daughter up to the time of her marriage, and in the case of a boy as long as he remains beneath the paternal roof. The father has a right to chastise the child. He can also pledge him. Usually a debtor can free himself from his creditor by putting his daughter at the latter's disposal.

Dowry is an effective set-off against debt. Thus parents usually pay dowry on behalf of their sons, and marry their daughters against payment of a dowry and this is deemed to be a compensation against any loss they undergo when a member of their family leaves.

A child born out of wedlock belongs to the woman or rather to her family, but the child can be made legitimate by the marriage of the parents, or the father can adopt it as his own by paying a sufficient compensation to the woman's family.

A child born in adultery belongs to the legal husband of the mother. The latter can however repudiate the woman and still keep the child. The position of this child is inferior to that of a legitimate child, especially in the division of the father's estate.

Dowry paid for girls born of an adulterous union is divided amongst the members of the father's family.

Adoption.—Adoption is rarely practised, perhaps only in the case of abandoned children or otherwise when the person adopting the child has no children himself. There is no formality in this instance.

CHAPTER IV.

GUARDIANSHIP. EMANCIPATION. LOSS OF RIGHTS.

Guardianship :—As the mother cannot be a guardian on the death of the husband, her children are rightly placed under the guardianship of the head of the family and on his death to the elders of his brothers, or to the eldest of his sons, or to the nearest relative on the paternal side, brother, uncle, nephew or cousin. The members of the mother's family never exercise guardianship. Before his death, the father can elect a guardian whom he chooses from his brothers or sons. If there are no relatives on the father's side, the headman of the town or the Paramount Chief must exercise that guardianship. The guardian has all the rights of the deceased's head of the family. He provides for the needs of the children and their mother; pays dowry on behalf of the boys, and accepts dowry on behalf of the girls. He can pledge the children. His

rights cease when these children come of age and he must render them an account of his stewardship. If he has squandered their inheritance he is bound to restore it or to pay its value from his own property. In addition, if his administration of the property becomes at any time notoriously bad, he can be removed by the family, and a new guardian chosen.

Emancipation :—This takes place at marriage, and has no particular procedure.

Loss of rights : Individuals who have become mentally deranged are declared incapable of managing their own affairs, and these are managed by the family. If they recover, their rights are restored to them.

CHAPTER V.

PROPERTY.

The right of ownership, as the French Civil Code views it, only exists as regards personal property, houses and certain trees of economic value. The soil itself can only be subject to a temporary ownership, whether communal or belonging to the family, and only those portions actually under cultivation.

Land : There are two kinds of landed property ; those lands which belong to the village community (hunting lands, forests and pasture lands), and those which are used by individuals or settled families. The latter are at the disposal of "land headmen" who apportion the land and settle all disputes which arise between those who use it.

The headman grants a portion of the land to that family which was the first to till the soil there. Formerly this gave rise to sacrifices to the local gods, and it is by virtue of these sacrifices that the owner bases his claim to the land selected by him. His right can pass to his heirs. There is only one "land headman" in each family. The granting of a portion of land to an alien to cultivate is decided by the Paramount Chief on a proposal made by the village headman, who himself first consults the Tribal Authority, especially the headman of the land in question whose vote predominates in this instance.

Once in possession of the land granted to him, the owner has the sole user, but he must during the first years pay to the headman who represents the community, a service in kind (portion of his crops) or perform a certain number of days of public labour.

He has the right to build a house on the portion of land allotted to him, and all the products of that land belong to him ; he can dispose of them as he wishes. He becomes an integral part of the community which has received him and he shares their rights as well as their obligations.

The land which remains uncultivated for three years reverts to the community and can be re-distributed further.

Movable Property: In addition to his crops the Kisi has a right to the ownership of the houses he has built or which he has inherited, his trees of economic value (coffee trees, kola trees, oil-palms) which are growing on his land, the animals he owns, and the proceeds of his industry. He may dispose of these as he wishes.

As regards palm trees those not within cultivated land belong to the community. The fruit is collected at a time fixed by the headman of the village, and each man is the owner of the products he has gathered. A collection made at any other time would render the guilty party liable to a fine.

Family houses belong to the head of the family who alone has the right of their disposal. If any member of the family finally leaves his house, this can be disposed of, and there can be no question of any claim made by him.

LOCAL LAWS.

The forest is free to all except in the "sacred groves" where it is forbidden to fell trees. As the boundaries of a village are well known, it is not permitted to fell trees within the limits of a neighbouring village.

Hunting is permitted everywhere except in reservations. The headman of the village has a right to a portion of the animal killed, and the Paramount Chief has a right to a tusk of any elephant killed.

Fishing is free except in certain parts of streams which are considered sacred.

Wells belong to those who have dug them. The owner has a right to prevent others using his well. There may be, however, communal wells dug for the benefit of all.

Natural springs are free to all.

All native paths are considered a right of way. The Paramount Chief may, if he wishes, make a right of way across a farm but only after the harvest has been gathered.

CHAPTER VI.

INHERITANCE, WILLS, GIFTS.

Inheritance: Inheritance depends on whether it concerns family or individual possessions.

Family estate is administered, in its entirety, by the head of the family. On the death of the latter, it lapses to his heir who should be in order of succession either the eldest of his surviving

brothers, or the eldest of his sons, who have reached man's estate, or his nearest relatives on the male side. The heir becomes, as we have seen, the guardian of the deceased's minors.

The personal property of the deceased is vested in his children. If the latter are minors, the legal or testamentary guardian administers the estate until they become of age; as we have seen in the chapter on guardianship the wife never succeeds to the property of the husband.

A wife's property goes by law to her children, or if she has no children, part to her husband and the remainder to her own family.

Property left behind by an alien who has left no heirs reverts to the Paramount Chief, who, however, must hand it over to any legal claimant who comes forward.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Notice of death is given by firing a gun. After that a report is sent to the family of the deceased. The body is then prepared for burial and this is done by those of the same sex. The relatives and friends file past the body and offer gifts of clothing, kola nuts and other articles which the deceased is supposed to hand over to those of his family who died before him. A grave is dug near his house, or even inside the house, and the deceased, clothed in his finest garment, is wrapped up in a cloth and buried. Inside the grave are placed all the gifts offered to the deceased. The body is placed on its right side, with the head facing the east in the case of a male, on its left side facing the west in the case of a female. A last procession is made in front of the tomb after the burial. If the deceased is a man, the procession is composed of men, if a woman, it is composed of women.

Before the burial, the family ask that all creditors and debtors of the deceased should come forward.

A funeral feast prepared by the family brings all relatives and friends together. The feast is lavish depending on the rank of the deceased.

Women wear mourning for two or three months according to their age.

Wills: Wills in writing do not exist. A man or woman may before death express his or her last wishes with witnesses present, only as regards personal property and in this case only members of the family can be beneficiaries. The testators may name certain heirs but must not interfere with legal inheritance.

Gifts: Movable property may be left to anyone. Once this has been assigned the gift cannot be revoked, but it is safer to do this in the presence of witnesses to avoid any misunderstanding between members of one's own family.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTRACTS.

The usual contracts are those of sale, loan and hire.

Sale : Although native currency has not yet disappeared from the country, the use of French money in barter is becoming more and more universal.

As only private property can be sold, it follows that land cannot be sold but trees of economic value on cultivated lands as well as the proceeds from that land can be sold.

Women may sell their own property, animals, crops and jewels.

Credit is largely practised and leads to numerous disputes.

Loan : The loaning of articles of common use as well as food commodities is allowed. No interest is demanded.

Hire : This does not exist. A loan takes the place of this. The hiring of a person is non-existent except in the case of aliens to the country. It is not a part of native custom.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRESCRIPTION.

A law of limitation does not exist. As long as a native can, by witnesses, prove that any right he calls up establishes a consolidated benefit, he can reclaim possession or ownership of any property of which he has been deprived.

CHAPTER IX.

CIVIL LIABILITY FOR TORTS.

According to Kisi custom, the perpetrator of any tort on either the person or property of another is bound to indemnify him in kind or in some payment fixed by the community or the native tribunal.

For grave injuries on a person the damages may be collective, but may not go beyond the family circle.

The law is occasionally difficult and our own way helps to limit the effect in checking for example the enslaving of members of the assassin's family and substituting in its place ample compensation to be paid.

5. HISTORICAL NOTES ON FREETOWN HARBOUR.

BY

CAPTAIN C. WILSON BROWN, O.B.E., M.C., M.Inst.C.E.

The benefits which the inhabitants of Sierra Leone in general and the citizens of Freetown in particular derive from the magnificent anchorage afforded by the estuary of the Sierra Leone River are difficult to exaggerate having regard to the great scarcity of natural harbours on the West Coast of Africa.

Although West Africa possesses many large and important rivers very few of them are navigable the entrances to the majority being obstructed by large sand banks deposited by silt from the river and sand carried along the coast by the littoral drift of the Guinea Current.

The heavy surf which beats upon the shores of the Guinea Coast throughout the major part of the year makes the construction of artificial deep water harbours difficult and expensive and the cost of the maintenance dredging required to keep them free from silted sand renders such schemes financially precarious undertakings in all but the most favourable situations.

The absence of natural anchorages afforded by navigable estuaries and the financial and practical difficulties which prevent the construction of harbours are serious obstacles to commercial development and the majority of the trade of the West Coast has had to be conducted through roadstead ports at which ships may have to lie from one to three miles off shore in the open sea and frequently exposed to a heavy swell. At such ports passengers and cargo are carried between ship and shore in specially constructed surf boats a method of transhipment which is not only slow and expensive but can, at certain seasons, be a hazardous undertaking.

In comparison with other West Coast ports Freetown Harbour possesses very great natural advantages the value of which, as they have not had to be paid for, is insufficiently appreciated.

The area of the anchorage is in itself sufficient to entitle Freetown to a prominent place among the natural harbours of the world extending, as it does, to about four thousand acres varying in depth from eight to sixteen fathoms. The bottom is of mud and silt and provides good holding ground although the current is at times very strong particularly on the ebb of Spring tides during the rains.

The anchorage is well protected from seaward by the sand bank, known as the Middle Ground, which is occasionally dry in places at Low Water of Spring tides. The Middle Ground extends westwards from the Southern Extremity of the Bullom peninsula for a distance of upwards of seven miles and gives shelter to the anchorage over an arc of nearly ninety degrees.

The harbour is particularly well sheltered from the direction of the prevailing breeze and the South West swell by Cape Sierra Leone and the reef which extends towards the Carpenter Rock, now marked by the remains of the "Fulani" which went on the rock in 1914.

The entrance to the navigable approach to the anchorage is about a mile wide and at the bar, which is about one and a half miles westward of Cape Sierra Leone the least depth of water at Low Water of Spring tides is about 36 feet. The navigable channel, about one-and-a-half miles wide, is free from obstructions and has a least depth of over 45 feet.

The harbour is entirely natural and requires no maintenance dredging, the silt brought down by the Sierra Leone River and the sand deposited on the bar by the littoral drift being scoured away by the currents in the river.

It would be natural that a harbour, possessing the advantages which have been described, should attract the attention of the early European merchant adventurers—it is therefore surprising that, even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the harbour should have been chiefly noted as a rendezvous for pirates and that a permanent settlement was delayed until such a comparatively late date as 1787.

The nucleus of the present city of Freetown was formed in February, 1792, when a site at St. George's Bay, now King Jimmy, was rented and, in the same year, the construction of a public wharf and warehouse was begun. It is from this very small beginning that the present port and, at one time, important Naval Coaling Station sprang.

Although considerable progress had been made with the building of the town the colonists received a serious setback when, in 1794, the settlement was burned to the ground by a French Revolutionary fleet and, as practically everything belonging to the Sierra Leone Company was destroyed, it is extremely unlikely that the jetty escaped the attentions of the incendiaries.

Although this wanton outrage must have been a sore disappointment to the settlers they apparently lost little time in making good the damage as Dr. Winterbottom's description of Freetown written in 1796 shows that not only had three or four hundred houses and other buildings been built but three timber wharves or jetties had also been constructed.

In 1807 after the Colony had passed through a variety of troubles, including an attempted insurrection on the part of the Nova Scotians and two attacks by the Temnes under King Tom, a treaty of peace was signed with King Firama and King Tom whereby the majority of the land belonging to the Temnes in the peninsula was ceded to the Sierra Leone Company but which provided for payment to King Firama of dues by ships watering in the harbour.

In 1808 the possessions and rights of the Company were ceded to the Crown and in April, 1809 the first Customs Ordinance was passed under which Harbour and Water dues were levied on all shipping entering the port.

Governor Maxwell rendered the first Annual Report on the Colony in 1811 and in which he refers to the export trade specific mention being made of Camwood and Ivory. The young Colony progressed rapidly and between 1817 and 1824 the imports amounted to £707,677 in value or an average of £88,460 per annum. During the same period exports also increased rapidly the following products being specially mentioned:—African Teak, probably the so-called African Oak (*Oldfieldia Africana*), Redwood, probably Conta Wood (*Afzelia Africana*), Camwood (*Baphia Nitida*), Shingles, palm-oil, ivory, gold dust, hides, red and white rice, beeswax, peppers and gum copal.

Although it is quite certain that the growing trade of the Colony must have necessitated the construction of wharves and jetties references to such works cannot now be traced but at some date prior to 1860 an attempt was made to build a small dock and, as this structure is shown on a drawing dated 1869 and is described as "Old Dock", it is not unreasonable to suppose that it must have been built about 1840. The south wall of this old dock exists at the present time and forms the south wall of what is now

known as the "Camber" immediately north of the "Old Baggage Shed" and although it has been patched and repaired on numerous occasions its present condition speaks well of the workmanship in those early days.

The present masonry structure known as Government Wharf was built between 1872 and 1875 and was originally intended as a deep water wharf alongside of which ocean going ships could be moored and discharge and load their cargoes.

The original design for Government Wharf was prepared in 1869 by John Frederick Bourne, M.Inst. C.E., who came out to the Settlement in 1868 for the purpose of making a survey of the area lying North of Water Street and extending from Kroo Bay on the West to Falconbridge Battery Point on the East in order to advise the Government on a proposal for the construction of a wharf.

John Frederick Bourne was born in 1816 and was the eldest son of Lieutenant John Henry Bourne, 2nd Dragoon Guards. He was educated at Mill Hill and in 1831 was articled as a Civil Engineering apprentice to five of the original directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway and was engaged on the construction of this and other lines. After completing his articles he practised as a Civil Engineer and patented a wrought iron railway wheel known as "Chambers Wheel." Taking holy orders Mr. Bourne, for a time abandoned his first profession and was for some years in clerical charge of a parish in Demerara. He very soon, however, gave up this preferment and returned to Civil Engineering on the Burlington and Missouri Rivers and on various railways in the United States of America and in 1854 he was appointed Civil Engineer and Superintendent of Public Works in the Colony of British Guiana. One of his achievements was the construction of the sea defences of Georgetown, the capital of the Colony and he prepared a scheme for supplying Georgetown with water and for improving the system of drainage—the latter works on account of the cost were, however, never carried out. In 1863 Bourne was appointed Inspector General of Railways and Colonial Railway Engineer to the Cape of Good Hope and whilst acting in the latter capacity he prepared a design for the reconstruction of the Roman Rock Lighthouse situated at the entrance to Simonstown Bay. In the autumn of 1868 he was commissioned by the Home Government to prepare a report on the best means of draining Bathurst in the Gambia and to report on a proposal to build a deep sea wharf at Freetown, Sierra Leone. On Bourne's return to England he was appointed Superintendent of Public Works at Barbados but resigned in 1872 to take up private work in Trinidad. In 1879 he was re-appointed to his old post in Barbados and died there in the following year.

Details of Mr. Bourne's design are no longer available but a general plan of the area dated 25th March, 1869, outlines an ambitious scheme for a Masonry Wharf extending from the outfall of the stream flowing through what is now known as King Jimmy Market on the West to Falconbridge Point on the East. The scheme was divided into two almost equal portions the first extending from King Jimmy Market to the Old Dock to the North of the Lower Commissariat, the northern wall of which is now known as the Camber Jetty and which forms the shore abutment of the New Passenger Jetty.

The second portion of the scheme, construction of which was to be postponed until the facilities provided by the first section should be found to be insufficient for the growing trade of the port, extended from the Old Dock to Falconbridge Point. The scheme also provided for a masonry jetty to be built on the reef which extends for some one hundred and fifty feet North Eastward from Falconbridge Point.

The first section of the scheme would have provided a Wharf Wall about 1,300 feet in length with a depth of water, at Low Water of Ordinary Spring Tides, varying from 6 feet at the western end to 25 feet at the "Old Wooden Pier" which formerly existed at the site of the, now disused, boat steps opposite the present entrance to Government Wharf.

The second section of the scheme would, in addition to the jetty on Falconbridge Reef, have provided a length of Wharf Wall extending to about 1,200 feet and having a depth of water varying from 8 feet to 15 feet at Low Water of Ordinary Spring Tides.

Mr. Bourne's plans were apparently regarded as too expensive as they were rejected by the Executive Council. Upon the rejection of Mr. Bourne's design a Mr. Price, an Engineer who was residing in the Colony, submitted to the Government a design for a Wharf which was accepted. Mr. Price had come out to the Colony as the Engineer and Agent to a Mr. Hogan—a merchant of Freetown—who apparently anticipated that he would be given the contract for the construction of the Wharf. It is difficult now to appreciate the reasons which caused the rejection of Mr. Bourne's design and the acceptance of Mr. Price's as the latter was apparently little more than a copy of the first section of Mr. Bourne's scheme.

In a letter dated 15th December, 1873, Mr. J. W. Jenkins, the Colonial Surveyor, states that Mr. Price copied the first section of Mr. Bourne's plan and there seems to be considerable justification for this allegation as the present Wharf Wall which resulted from Price's design conforms fairly closely to that portion of Mr. Bourne's drawing of 1869 which illustrates the first section of his proposals.

The foundation stone of the Wharf Wall was laid by the Governor, Sir Arthur Kennedy, apparently about May, 1872, but no record of its position can now be traced. Work on the Wharf Wall proceeded under the direction of Mr. Price until he left the Colony in February, 1872. Nothing further is heard of Price—beyond veiled suggestions by the Colonial Surveyor as to his incompetence. Jenkins invited the Government to institute enquiries into Price's reasons for favouring the first section of Bourne's scheme rather than the second. The former necessitated the purchase by Government of a large area of land owned by the Honourable Charles William Maxwell Heddle at a price between £16,000 and £17,000 whereas the second portion of Bourne's scheme would have served equally well and had the advantage that all the land required was already vested in Government. Mr. Jenkins repeatedly refers to Mr. Heddle and invariably as "The Honourable Charles William Maxwell Heddle" which leads one to suspect that he was not unmindful of Mark Antony's description of Brutus.

Upon the departure of Price one might have expected that the Wharf construction scheme would have been placed under the Colonial Surveyor and Superintendent of Public Works who appears to have been a competent, if outspoken, individual—this course, however, was not followed and the works were placed under the control of the then Colonial Treasurer with the disastrous consequences which might have been expected.

In June, 1873, a Mr. Oakes was appointed to succeed Mr. Price as Harbour Engineer, and on his arrival in the Colony he found that the European Artisans and Divers were in a state of mutiny and that about 20,000 to 30,000 cubic yards of earth, which had been tipped along the shore line, had been washed out and then covered the site of the foundations of the Wharf Wall to a considerable depth. Mr. Oakes had a most unenviable task, as not only was there serious dissatisfaction among the European artisans, but owing to sickness he had rarely more than one diver, upon whom the whole of the foundation work depended, fit for duty.

Mr. Oakes's task was not lightened by the dilatory manner in which his demands for men and materials were dealt with. Reading between the lines of such remnants of correspondence as now remain there is a strong suggestion that Government had lost much of the original enthusiasm with which the Works were started and in December, 1873, the Colonial Surveyor, whose services had not been utilised to control the works during the *interregnum* between Mr. Price's departure and Mr. Oakes's arrival, was called upon by the Government for a report on the works. Mr. Jenkins had apparently realised from the first that the works as they were being constructed were not suited to the object to be attained and

it is probable that Government were aware of his views ; this, therefore, may have been the reason why the Colonial Treasurer was placed in charge of the works rather than the Colonial Surveyor and Superintendent of Public Works. Mr. Jenkins's report may be summarised as follows :—

- (a) If the Wharf is intended to provide berthing for ocean going vessels it is useless as no Master would bring his vessel alongside a wharf exposed over an arc of 45° to heavy seas.
- (b) If the object is to provide an area of level ground on the beach suitable for the handling and storage of cargo the object could have been attained at a fraction of the cost by a Wharf Wall built in Susan's Bay where the land abutting on the foreshore was already the property of Government.

Mr. Jenkins's report apparently awakened the Government to the position and in April, 1874, he was called upon, in collaboration with Mr. Oakes, to submit a further report. This report was illustrated by drawings which are, however, no longer available. The main features commented upon in the joint report were :—

- (i) Inadequate investigation of the conditions to be met with in the bed of the sea.
- (ii) The mistake made in tipping the earth filling to the back of the Wharf Wall before the Wall was built resulting in the loss of practically the whole of the material and the covering of the foundations with a considerable depth of soft mud which added greatly to the work of the diver in securing a sound foundation for the masonry face wall. (Actually the wall was founded on this loose material and this is one of the principal causes of all the subsequent trouble.—C.W.B)
- (iii) The lack of sufficient competent divers.
- (iv) The sickness among the European artisans and the indolent habits of the native labourers.

Messrs. Jenkins and Oakes conclude their report with the following remarks :—

“ The Harbour Works have been reported upon by men of almost every profession both residents and passers-by and in the multitude of counsellors, there should be,

wisdom, some have advocated a T shaped pier but the rapidly increasing depth of water and the double instead of single wall required would cause a greater expense and give less accommodation."

"In conclusion we are of opinion that if a mistake was made in the commencement it was in not letting the undertaking to a contractor, and that if a mistake is now being made, it is in not carrying on the work as nearly as possible in the same manner in which a contractor would conduct it, for when the business of a large work of the nature (subject as it is to emergencies) has to go through the same tardy official routine as the ordinary Colonial business it cannot fail to delay and seriously add to the expense of the undertaking."

As a result of the above report Sir John Coode of the well known firm of Harbour Works Consulting Engineers, Coode, Son and Matthews, was asked by the Secretary of State to report upon the works and his report dated 21st August, 1874, is the earliest authoritative report on Freetown Harbour now available. Sir John Coode agreed with Mr. Jenkins's views that as a deep water wharf the work was a complete failure and that "the most expeditious course will be " . . . to bring the work to as speedy and economical a conclusion as circumstances will permit taking the best advantage of what has already been done." Sir John recommended that "the wall should be brought up to the level of low tide as originally designed and that the upper portion of the wall above this level should be finished off by the formation of a slope having an inclination of $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 properly protected by heavy stone pitching and carefully footed at the back of the facing. The new embankment (now forming the surface of Government Wharf—C.W.B.) should be made good up to the face of the pitching and finished off to the originally intended level of six feet above High Water of Spring tides".

On 30th June, 1875, Sir John Coode presented a further report which, however, cannot now be traced but it would appear to have differed but slightly from that of 1874 as the masonry portion of the existing wharf is, with one exception, that which would have resulted from the execution of the recommendations in Sir John's report of 1874. The exception referred to is the failure to carry out Sir John Coode's recommendation that the vertical face of the return wall at the western end of the wharf should be taken down and replaced with a sloped and pitched face. This work was not carried out and this portion of the wharf wall was the site of the collapse in 1925 a result which fully confirmed Sir John's fears and justified his caution.

The Wharf Wall, modified in accordance with Sir John Coode's advice, apparently served the needs of the port until 1905 when Sir Leslie Probyn reported to the Secretary of State that the facilities for shipping produce were quite inadequate and that unless action were taken a block would occur on the Customs Wharf which would have the effect of paralysing trade then in course of rapid development by the Railway.

Sir Leslie Probyn's proposals for improvements were briefly :—

- (a) To construct 4 piers or jetties each capable of berthing two lighters at the same time.
- (b) That 5-ton steam cranes should be provided on the Wharf.
- (c) The erection of covered goods sheds on the Wharf.
- (d) The demolition of the ruinous " Bonded Warehouse " and the erection of three warehouses.

The scheme was referred to Messrs. Coode, Son and Matthews who, however, pointed out that they had not been consulted by the Sierra Leone Government for nearly thirty years but were prepared to act as consultants provided Government were satisfied that Messrs. Baker and Sheldon, the Consulting Engineers for the Sierra Leone Railway, had not a prior claim.

Sir Leslie Probyn, in November, 1905, discussed the matter in England with Messrs. Baker and Sheldon and ultimately recommended the construction of two jetties only, at an approximate cost of £17,500 and the scheme was approved in January 1906 by Lord Elgin, then Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Messrs. Baker and Sheldon submitted their report in May 1906 and proposed the erection of two jetties and submitted drawings illustrating their proposals. The design provided for a wrought iron and timber deck supported by five tiers of three wrought iron screw piles, horizontally and diagonally braced. The jetties were about 100 feet long at deck level and 30 feet wide. At the shore end of each jetty the decking was to be carried on fish-bellied girders supported by abutments built on the old wharf wall at one end and by the inner tier of screw piles at the other. Eleven feet of the seaward end of each jetty was to be supported on cantilevered beams and was not intended for the reception of cargo but only to facilitate the handling of the warps of lighters. To prevent cargo being stacked on the cantilevered portion of the decking a Stevedores Office was provided on this portion of each jetty.

The contract for the supply of the ironwork for the jetties was let to Messrs. Horseley Company, Limited, on 3rd August, 1906, the amount of their Tender being £3,788, delivery to be given by 31st January, 1907. Construction of the jetties was begun in February, 1907, and was completed in October, 1910 at a cost of £14,926 against the original estimate of £17,500.

While Mr. Hobbs, the Resident Engineer, was engaged on the erection of the first two jetties he also undertook the supervision of certain repairs required to the Wharf Wall but on 14th and 15th August damage was caused by a severe storm to an extent which rendered it advisable for Government to seek the advice of Messrs. Coode, Son and Matthews. Mr. Coode arrived in Freetown in November, 1908 and his firm submitted a report dated 26th January, 1909. The Consulting Engineers recommendations may be briefly stated as follows :—

- (a) The injuries suffered by the Wharf Wall are due to the result of wave action on the open joints of the blockwork below the level of low water. The air behind the wall is compressed by the wave stroke causing a severe outward thrust to be transmitted to the back of the sloping face of the wall forcing the offset course outward and letting down the pitching of the sloped face.
- (b) Remedial measures of a more serious and more permanent character than those hitherto adopted are required and should be undertaken without delay. The Consulting Engineers were of opinion that the West wall between Government Steps and the Western flight of steps (about 80 feet West of present No. 3 jetty—C.W.B.) is in the most serious condition but a portion, if not all, the wall between Government Steps and the Eastern flight of steps (at the shore end of No. 1 jetty—C.W.B.) will also require attention at no distant date.
- (c) The wall from Western flight of steps westwards appears to be comparatively sound; the wall eastwards of Eastern flight of steps is comparatively sound as regards foundations and superstructure.
- (d) *Remedial Works.*
 - (1) Substituting a mass concrete toe in lieu of existing damaged offset course of concrete blockwork. Owing to its bulk and continuity a mass concrete course will offer greater resistance to the outward thrust of the sloped face and backing thereof.

- (2) To tip a rubble mound of syenite (laterite not recommended as liable to disintegrate in sea water) in front of the West wall and propose that the blocks of the damaged offset course should be laid at the top of the mound and the interstices behind and between these blocks should be filled with concrete. The mound would prevent direct wave action upon the underwater portion of the wall and dissipate the force of the wave stroke thereon.
- (3) Substitute for pitched sloped face—a mass concrete facing two feet in thickness and provide air vents at intervals to prevent compression of air below the slope.

As little delay as possible should be allowed in carrying out (1), (2) and (3) and the rubble mound should be tipped first. The superstructure should be taken in hand thereafter and rebuilt in such lengths as can be readily completed and made good without risk of exposing internal rubble filling to serious wave action.

The cost of the remedial work recommended was estimated at £7,600. The Secretary of State approved of the measures recommended in the report and the work was completed in October, 1911 at a cost of £5,650.

EXPORT WHARF SCHEME AND ADDITIONAL JETTY ACCOMMODATION.

In April, 1909 the Sierra Leone Coaling Company complained to the Governor of the inadequacy of the warehouse accommodation at the wharf for export produce. After consulting the Chamber of Commerce, who supported the complaint, it was decided that an export warehouse was a necessity. In December, 1909 the Manchester Chamber of Commerce represented to the Secretary of State the urgent need for increasing the facilities for export produce and the then Chamber of Commerce advised the Governor that the need for increased accommodation was becoming urgent. Various schemes for erecting an export warehouse on or near the wharf were considered but all were found to be impracticable.

In November, 1910 Sir Leslie Probyn outlined in a Despatch to the Secretary of State a scheme for the construction of an Export Wharf and Warehouse at Destruction Bay. The scheme was referred to Messrs. Coode, Son and Matthews for report and on 5th April, 1911, an Engineer sailed for Sierra Leone to make the necessary investigations and returned to England in May of the

same year but, owing to various delays, the Consulting Engineers Report was not available until August, 1912. Messrs. Coode, Son and Matthews report generally confirmed the local opinion that a deep water wharf was desirable—their opinion, however, did not appear to go further than that it was “desirable.” The report went on to state that provided the deep water wharf were to be used for export produce only there would be no objection to its being located away from Freetown, i.e., towards Cline Town.

In support of this view the Consulting Engineers stated :—

“ Freetown is not a terminal port and vessels enter for the purpose either of loading or discharging but not with both of these objects. There would not appear to be the usual objection, therefore, to the establishment of an export wharf independent of and at some distance from the position where import cargoes are landed.”

In reporting upon the proposed site for a wharf in Destruction Bay (immediately opposite Dove Cot Station) the Consulting Engineers stated that “ investigations disclosed extreme fluctuations in the sea bed and along a portion of the site an extensive deposit of fine black mud was discovered, pointing to the unsuitability of the bottom for wharf construction and the possibility of shoaling hereafter. In one boring mud was shown to extend to a depth of at least 60 feet below the level of low water which would render the construction of a deep water quay so costly that it may be regarded as impracticable.” Moreover a sufficient depth of water was obtainable only at a considerable distance from the shore.

The Consulting Engineers recommended an alternative site lying between Fourah Point and Kline Point, which offered many advantages over that originally proposed, deep water being close in shore and the sea bed showing an absence of mud. The Consulting Engineers further stated that “ * * * in our opinion this site is distinctly preferable as regards convenience of berthage and possible range consequent on sea disturbance when compared with the position first examined.” “ * * * if an export wharf for the accommodation of steamer traffic is to be provided it should be constructed on that portion of the foreshore situated immediately upstream of Fourah Point * * *.”

The design recommended by the Consulting Engineers provided for a quay wall of solid concrete blockwork 900 feet in length, sufficient to provide simultaneous berthage for two ocean going vessels and a return wall was to be built at each end of the quay wall for the retention of the filling. The wharf wall was to be built of concrete blocks set in horizontal bond the heaviest block being just under 20 tons.

The foundations of the quay wall were to be carried to a sufficient depth into the clay to permit of dredging in front of the toe of the wall to a depth of 30 feet below low water of Ordinary Spring Tides.

The end of the wharf nearest Fourah Point was to be protected by a rubble mound tipped in the re-entrant angle. At the other end of the wharf, approach to the quay was by a viaduct as the depth of the water at this end was too great to permit of a rubble embankment, the toe of which would project beyond the face of the quay wall.

Two transit sheds were to be erected on the reclaimed ground behind the quay wall these were each to be 300 feet long by 55 feet wide. (These sheds would have had a total capacity of between 5,000 and 7,000 tons depending upon the internal stacking and handling arrangements.—C.W.B.)

Two wharf cranes were to be provided straddling the railway track along the wharf between the quay wall and the sheds. It is to be noticed that Messrs. Coode, Son and Matthews definitely contemplated that, at some future date, the wharf would be used for imports as well as exports and they recommended that the maximum gradient of the wharf railway siding should not exceed 1:50 so as not to hamper imports. (A ruling gradient of 1 in 40 would be sufficient for exports as the grade would be in the direction of loaded traffic—C.W.B.)

The cost of the work was estimated as follows:—

Quay wall, 900' in length including return walls, Approach Bank and Viaduct road-wharf reclamation area, Dredging, etc. ..	£149,500
Transit sheds and cranes and railway tracks on wharf	22,500
	<hr/> £172,000

The above estimate did not include the cost of the branch line of railway track to connect with the Government railway at Cline Town nor did it include the cost of the acquisition of land. The cost of the branch line of railway was estimated at £15,469. The cost of acquiring the necessary land was estimated at £10,000 and actually cost £12,696. The total expenditure on the works when abandoned at the end of 1919 was about £70,000.

As the cargo handling facilities of the port were already severely taxed it was obvious that the importation of the large quantity of materials required for the construction of the export wharf would

lead to further congestion and seriously interfere with trade the Consulting Engineers therefore recommended the lengthening of the two existing jetties (now known as Nos. 2 and 3 jetties) and the construction of a third.

The two original jetties had been provided with overhanging cantilevered ends to facilitate the handling of warps and it was recommended that these should be removed and the jetties lengthened by 67 feet each giving 134 feet of berthage on each side. In order to increase the cargo handling capacity of the jetties the Consulting Engineers advised the provision of one additional high speed crane, capable of lifting 30 cwt. at 26 feet radius, for each jetty.

The new jetty (now known as No. 1 jetty) was to be 145 feet long with a width of 45 feet at deck level and providing 145 feet of berthage on each side thus allowing for the simultaneous handling of the cargo of four 60 feet lighters.

Two cranes were to be provided on the new jetty one of 5 tons capacity at 16 feet radius the other of $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons capacity at 25 feet radius. The cranes were designed to run the full length of the jetty on each side and provision was also made for laying two lines of railway track on the jetty to enable direct handling of cargo to and from the railway wagons.

As originally designed the sub-structure of the jetty was to be built of piles founded in a rubble mound the surface of which was to be brought up to a level of 18 feet below Low water of ordinary Spring Tides. The piles were to be encased in concrete up to low water level.

The estimated cost of the works recommended was as follows :—

Extension 67 feet of west jetty, including	
provision of 30 cwt. fixed crane	£9,500
Do. Do. of east jetty	9,500
Additional jetty 145 feet long by 45 feet wide,	
including 2 cranes as above	22,500
	<hr/>
	<u>£41,500</u>

The works as proposed were approved by Government and the Secretary of State and construction was commenced on 1st March, 1913. Subsequently the work was modified so as to provide steps to the jetty extensions and also boat steps at the east jetty. It was also decided to provide an additional fixed pedestal crane to each jetty extension and a 10 ton crane at the root of east jetty.

Owing to the outbreak of war in 1914 work on the export wharf and on the jetties was very greatly hampered and work on the former was ultimately suspended in 1919. Owing to the increased price of materials there was a considerable increase in the estimated cost of the jetties amounting to about £6,000, but as it was found possible to drive the piles instead of founding them in a rubble mound as originally intended, a saving of the same amount was effected by the omission of the rubble mound.

The east or No. 1 jetty was completed in August, 1915 and the lengthening of Nos. 2 and 3 jetties was completed by June, 1918, except for the provision of the two pedestal cranes construction of which had been held up in England owing to war restrictions.

In February, 1920 the question of the resumption of work on the export jetty was reopened and the Consulting Engineers then reported that owing to the great increase in prices of all materials the estimated cost of construction would have to be increased from £172,000 to £372,000, exclusive of the cost of the branch line of railway required to connect the wharf with the Sierra Leone Government Railway main line. Of the above amount, £70,000 had already been spent prior to the suspension of the work in 1919. Allowing £15,500, as originally estimated, for the cost of the branch line of track, the capital cost involved was now £387,500.

Allowing interest at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ and $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ Sinking Fund the annual fixed charges on the above capital sum would amount to £23,250. Without taking into account charges for maintenance of the wharf, sheds, cranes and railway track or allowing for the cost of operating the cranes, etc., the above fixed charges would require, at 2s. 6d. per ton loading charges, an export of 186,000 tons per annum, an amount far in excess of anything then available or in sight.

While the matter was still under consideration the Consulting Engineers reported in November, 1920 that owing to a further rise in prices the capital cost would be increased by a further £48,000. In January, 1921 the scheme was definitely abandoned.

COLLAPSE OF WESTERN END OF WHARF WALL.

On the night of 9th/10th September, 1925 a considerable length of the western end of the wharf wall collapsed and slipped into the sea. The site of the failure was that portion of the wall which, in 1875, Sir John Coode recommended should be taken down and rebuilt as a pitched slope, advice which, for reasons which were not recorded, was not carried into effect.

The nature and extent of the failure was regarded as sufficiently serious to justify a report being made by the Consulting Engineers (Messrs. Coode, Wilson, Fitzmaurice and Mitchell) and arrangements were therefore made by this firm for a preliminary inspection of the wall being made by an engineer (Mr. Glegg), and Diver from the Lagos Harbour Works Staff.

Glegg's report showed that the wharf wall in general, including the return ends and the masonry jetty at the eastern end, was in a bad condition and that over some lengths its stability was endangered. The Consulting Engineers report stated, *inter alia*, as follows :—

“ This wall is exposed to the action of an almost continuous swell which at times becomes pronounced and prevents any real use, except for the passenger traffic conducted at the Government steps by small craft, being made of the wall for berthage purposes.

“ Under such conditions vertical walls tend to become self-destructive in that they themselves give rise to undermining forces which may, unless sufficient provision has been made in the design of the work, cause subsidence at the toe of the wall. In the present case not only has this undermining action been proceeding but the damage thus caused has been aggravated by the wide joints in the masonry substructure through which the filling has been drawn from behind the wall.

“ Repairs have frequently been necessitated in the past but it was not until September last (1925) that any length of the wall actually collapsed. In our opinion the state of affairs disclosed by the recent under-water examination requires the adoption of remedial measures of a more substantial character than that of those hitherto undertaken.

“ The cost of a new masonry wall of sufficient strength to satisfy the conditions would be extremely heavy and in any case, seeing that it could be put to no reasonable use for berthage purposes, would not be justified.

“ We recommend, as being the most efficient and economical method to adopt, that a rubble mound should be deposited along the whole length of the wall extending from the sea-bed up to at least half tide level. By these means the requisite additional stability would be given to the existing wall which, moreover, would be relieved, by the absorption of the swell on the outer slope of the rubble

mound, from the undermining action of the sea. It was on this principle that we based our recommendations of 26th January, 1909, for the strengthening of the wall between Jetties Nos. 2 and 3. In that case, however, the top of the rubble mound was below low water of ordinary Spring Tides and we are of opinion that strengthening work on a somewhat larger scale is now needed.

“ Along the collapsed length of some 60 feet at the western end of the wharf the rubble mound should be brought up to the full height of the quay. This length should be first taken in hand and thereafter the remaining lengths should be undertaken in such order as is indicated by their respective conditions.

“ * * * the character of the materials of which the rubble mound should be composed can best be determined by the Public Works Department * * * .

“ Having regard to the action of the swell at this site the outer slope of the mound should be formed of the largest lumps of stone which the means of transport and available plant will permit. It will be understood that the inclination of the outer slope will be the steeper and the volume of the mound the lesser, the larger the size of the stones * * * .

* * * *

“ We gather from Mr. Glegg's report that the original portions of Jetties Nos. 2 and 3 have suffered considerable loss of strength owing to neglect but that steps are being taken to renew the worst parts * * * . The oyster growth, extending to some few feet above the low water line affords an excellent preservative to the metal and should be left intact, the remainder of the work above the level of low water being scraped and tarred at least once a year.

“ * * * * the diagonals should be tightened or replaced by new tie rods.

“ This should assist in stiffening these two structures which are disproportionately high above the sea-bed in comparison with their width. It was on this account that we provided in our design (1912) for rubble stone to be tipped around the piles and brought up to a level of 20 feet below Low Water of Ordinary Spring Tides.

"The recent under-water examination shows that the rubble stone is from 3 to 8 feet below its designed level and further is not sufficiently tight around the piles. We recommend accordingly that the surface of the stone beneath Jetties Nos. 2 and 3 should be raised as high as practicable, consistent with the necessity for retaining a sufficient depth of water alongside for navigation, and that the stone should be hand packed around the piles."

The cost of the rubble mound proposed by Messrs. Coode, Fitzmaurice, Wilson and Mitchell was estimated by the Director of Public Works at £30,000. A committee consisting of the Director of Public Works, Comptroller of Customs, the Chief Engineer, Sierra Leone Government Railway, and the Agent of Messrs. Elder Dempster's, appointed by the Government to consider and report upon the Consulting Engineers' proposals, recommended the adoption of the Consulting Engineers' scheme subject to the omission of the rubble mound on the outer side of the abutment of No. 1 Jetty and along the outer side of the Camber Jetty to its eastern end in order that the full use of the 10-ton crane should be preserved. The committee also reported in favour of the construction of a Passenger Landing Jetty. After further soundings were taken by the Public Works Department the Director of Public Works reported that the amount of rock required in the rubble mound would be less than originally estimated and that therefore his estimate of £30,000 for the work could be reduced to £22,500.

The recommendations of the committee were adopted by Government and the Consulting Engineers were requested to prepare the necessary designs and detailed estimates for the works to be carried out and an Engineer, Mr. Morris, was therefore sent out to make the necessary investigations.

The Consulting Engineers submitted their report in January, 1927, together with drawings and estimates illustrating their proposals which were, in general, a confirmation and amplification of the recommendations made in the preliminary report. The report recommended the formation of a rubble mound in front of the existing wharf wall from the western return wall to the west side of the abutment of No. 1 Jetty. The face of the mound was to be given a slope of 2 to 1 and was, generally, to extend from the sea-bed to slightly above half-tide level, the upper surface being finished off as a berm. Along the western return wall, (the site of the collapse of a portion of the wall in 1925) the mound was to be carried up in a continuous slope to the general level of the surface of the quay.

The exposed face of the mound was to be protected by a facing of heavy stone, each block weighing between 3 and 5 cwts., the core of the mound being formed of smaller material. The Consulting Engineers estimated the cost of their proposals at £26,875 which included the cost of the necessary plant. The report also dealt with the committee's proposal for the construction of a Passenger Jetty and gave the estimated cost of this work as £13,800.

Mr. E. H. D. Nicolls, C.M.G., O.B.E., M.Inst.C.E., who was in the Colony for the purpose of reporting upon the re-organization of the Public Works Department, was asked to consider the report of the Consulting Engineers and to advise Government and as a result of his advice certain alterations were made in the methods of depositing the rubble mound whereby the estimated cost was reduced, by £3,875 to £23,000.

The Secretary of State approved of the Wharf Repair Scheme at the modified figure of £23,000 in September, 1928, and work was commenced early in 1929 by the Public Works Department. The majority of the stone was obtained from the Public Works Department norite quarry but a considerable quantity of the smaller stone for the core of the rubble mound was obtained under a system of local contracts.

The stone from the Public Works Department quarry was transported to the wharf over the old Mountain Railway, since dismantled, and the smaller stone supplied was delivered on the site by the local contractors lorries. The whole of the work was completed in 1931 at a total cost of £21,146 being a saving of £1,854 over the modified estimate.

NEW TRANSIT SHEDS (1928).

In September, 1926, as a result of certain recommendations made by the Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce for expenditure on works of development, including the improvement of Import and Export facilities at Government Wharf, the Comptroller of Customs reported that the existing Transit Sheds, although capable of storing 50% more import cargo than was then being handled at Freetown, were in a dilapidated condition and in need of replacement.

As regards export facilities an inquiry which had been made in 1924 showed that these were also adequate for needs then existing or which could be foreseen. The following extract from the Governor's Address to the Legislative Council at the opening of the 1924-25 Session shows clearly that cargo handling and storage facilities were adequate for the trade then in existence or in sight.

 "EXPORT WHARF

" In the early part of the year, not wishing that Government should be caught napping in any marked revival of trade, I instituted enquiries from the Customs and Railway authorities as to whether there was any urgency for proceeding with the export wharf scheme first suggested by Sir Leslie Probyn in 1910, sanctioned by the Secretary of State in 1913, but suspended in 1915 on account of the War and again in 1921 for lack of funds. Both departments, with the concurrence of the merchants, definitely advised, after a careful review of present and prospective trade, that the total existing accommodation and railway facilities for produce are sufficient to meet the current needs of the port and those of the next few years at least. There has been no congestion which could be attributed to lack of wharf or warehouse accommodation.

" The following table shows the growth and present state of our exports :—

PRODUCE EXPORTED FROM THE PORT OF FREETOWN DURING
THE YEARS 1904-1923. (PARTLY ESTIMATED).

Year.				Tons.
1904	..	..	..	10,500
1905	..	..	..	17,700
1906	..	..	..	19,600
1907	..	..	..	23,600
1908	..	..	..	24,200
1909	..	..	..	31,500
1910	..	..	..	32,200
1911	..	..	..	32,300
1912	..	..	..	38,500
1913	..	..	..	27,700
1914	..	..	..	29,000
1915	..	..	..	33,400
1916	..	..	..	40,100
1917	..	..	..	48,000
1918	..	..	..	35,200
1919	..	..	..	42,700
1920	..	..	..	41,900
1921	..	..	..	34,300
1922	..	..	..	40,300
1923	..	..	..	49,500

"There are three jetties at Government Wharf available for loading produce with two cranes on each of them (one has four cranes) although as a rule one jetty suffices for the loading of produce, and 300 tons a day can be loaded with ease from each jetty.

"At Susan's Bay there are wharves at various private warehouses. At several of these wharves produce can be loaded at any state of the tide; at others lighters cannot lie alongside at low water. In our present state of trade it is unlikely that more than 5,000 tons of produce would, even during the most congested period, be awaiting shipment in Freetown. Shipping is plentiful, and anything like this tonnage would be a sufficient inducement for a vessel to come out in a ballast.

"The position would be radically changed if and when any important new export trade—such as cotton or fruit—is started on a large scale. At present, however, the merchants and Government authorities agree that existing and prospective conditions make it both unnecessary and undesirable to incur the expenditure necessary to complete the scheme."

As regards the Transit Shed it was decided by Government that, owing to the dilapidated condition of the building and the fact that its design was unsuited to the needs of the import trade, it should be dismantled and replaced by a modern steel framed structure divided into three sections each with its receiving and delivery doors. Plans were prepared by the Public Works Department and were submitted to the Chamber of Commerce the members of which expressed themselves as satisfied with the improved storage facilities afforded, the scheme was, therefore, approved by Government. Work was begun in 1928 and completed in January, 1929 at a cost of £4,550. The building is of steel framed construction with concrete panel walls and a corrugated iron roof and has a floor area of 10,700 square feet divided into three separate sections having an area of 3,380, 3,570, and 3,750 square feet respectively.

THE NEW PASSENGER JETTY.

In his address at the opening of the 1926–27 Session of Legislative Council Sir Ransford Slater expressed the view that there was urgent need in Freetown for a better landing place for passengers. There were two sets of landing steps which could be used by launches at the end of No. 2 and No. 3 jetties but, as these jetties were the ones mostly in use for general cargo, they were practically always busy, and passengers had to pass through a zone where slings of cargo were being slung across the jetty, the risk of accident was

considerable. For any official landing, it was necessary to stop all cargo work on one of the jetties and to clear away all cargo, a proceeding which was to be deprecated. The construction of a special landing jetty for official landings, men-of-war, and passengers was probably the only real solution to the question.

The Consulting Engineers when reporting on the wharf repairs pointed out that the execution of their recommendation that the wall should be protected by a rubble mound would prevent the further use of the Old Government Boat Steps and that the already inadequate facilities for passenger traffic would be still further restricted; they, therefore, recommended the construction of a short jetty projected northwards from the existing masonry jetty sheltering the Camber at the Eastern end of the Wharf.

When submitting the recommendations of the Consulting Engineers for the repair of the Wharf Wall to the Secretary of State, Sir Ransford Slater stated:—" * * * the fact remains that a Passenger Jetty is badly needed at Freetown and I have no hesitation in recommending that the present opportunity (when the Consulting Engineers will be once more preparing designs for harbour works here) be taken to provide this necessary adjunct to an important port."

The opportunity of obtaining financial assistance from the Imperial Treasury afforded by the passing into Law of the Colonial Development Act, 1929, was taken by Government to present the case for the provision of a Passenger Jetty as one deserving of assistance particularly as a very large portion of the cost of the work would be represented by materials purchased in the United Kingdom. Messrs. Coode, Fitzmaurice, Wilson and Mitchell, the Consulting Engineers, estimated that the cost of the jetty would be £14,800 of which £10,500 would be expended in England.

The application to the Colonial Development Fund Advisory Committee received sympathetic consideration and in January, 1930 a free grant of £7,400, i.e., half the cost of the scheme, was made from the Imperial Treasury and the Consulting Engineers were therefore instructed to prepare the necessary detail drawings and obtain Tenders for the necessary steel work. The Crown Agents received the drawings from the Consulting Engineers in August, 1930 and contracts were let in October, the delivery date in England being 10th March, 1931.

In February, 1931 the financial situation became so serious that Government decided to endeavour to postpone the execution of the scheme but as work had proceeded too far, this was found to be impossible, cancellation of the scheme would also have necessitated the refund of the grant made by the Imperial Treasury it was therefore decided that work should proceed.

In May, 1931 in view of the increasing seriousness of the financial situation, an effort was made to obtain further assistance from the Colonial Development Fund but the Advisory Committee informed the Secretary of State that the free grant of £7,400 represented the maximum assistance from the Fund which could be justified by the merits of the scheme and that further assistance could, therefore, not be given. As financial conditions became still more serious an application was made to the Colonial Development Fund Advisory Committee for permission to postpone erection of the jetty until a return of more prosperous times; the whole of the materials ordered in England being placed in store pending resumption of the work. In November, the Secretary of State informed Government that the permission asked for had been granted.

In 1932, an endeavour was made to dispose of the materials for the Passenger Jetty to Messrs. United Africa Company, who had under consideration a proposal to build an Export Wharf at Fourah Point a little to the westward of the site selected in 1912 for the Government Export Wharf. The major scheme was however found to be too expensive and the Company decided, as an alternative, to build a small cargo jetty between Government Wharf and Susan's Bay for which purpose the steelwork of the Passenger Jetty was unsuitable.

The Secretary of State informed the Government that if the erection of the jetty were to be abandoned it would be necessary for the Colony to refund to the Imperial Treasury the grant of £7,400 which had been made and under these circumstances it was decided to proceed with the erection of the structure. In order to obtain the greatest possible benefit from the scheme, it was decided that the roof superstructure, which had been supplied, should not be erected on the jetty but should be used to form a Passengers Baggage Shed, the provision of which had become a matter of some urgency. Erected without the roof superstructure, the Passenger Jetty could, in times of emergency or congestion on the wharf, be used to supplement the cargo handling facilities of Nos. 2 and 3 Jetties. The Colonial Development Fund Advisory Committee agreed to Government's proposals on the understanding that erection of the jetty would be begun in October, 1935, and be carried to completion within one year.

On further representations being made to the Advisory Committee this body agreed to advance, by way of a loan, the sum of £4,920 required to meet expenditure on the erection of the structure the loan to be at 3½% interest and to be repayable in equal annuities over a period of seven years.

CONSTRUCTION.

Preliminary work on the jetty was begun early in October 1935 and the first pile was driven to refusal on 7th November. The driving of the first pile showed at once that the depths to which piles would have to be driven would very greatly exceed that shown on the Consulting Engineers drawings. After penetrating a few feet into the bed of the sea there was definite resistance to penetration under 6 inch blows but on a heavier blow being given the pile suddenly dropped about fourteen feet carrying the hammer with it and all but overturning the pile driver into the harbour. The Clips on the ends of the pile guides were sheared off but the hammer was, fortunately, prevented from following the pile into what, ultimately, proved to be over twenty five feet of soft mud—so soft in fact that little difficulty was experienced in recovering the pile.

The length of the piles supplied for the first tier of three piles was 27 feet 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches but the lengths which it was found necessary to drive were :—

Row A (West)	..	..	.. 48'- 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
Row B (Middle)	..	..	.. 45'- 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
Row C (East)	..	..	.. 52'-10 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

The tops of the piles of the first tier were turned down in the Railway Workshops to fit couplings supplied for the piles of the outer tiers and additional lengths of pile were jointed on.

In the scrap materials abandoned by the "Old Harbour Works" and the wreck of the former Admiralty Jetty at Kissy a number of lengths of 6-inch steel piles were found and these were turned down to fit the couplings and this fortuitous circumstance enabled work to proceed without the delay which would have arisen had additional lengths of piles not been available. Instead of three lengths of pile being required for the first tier, nine were actually used before the piles attained the "set" called for by the Specification.

As soon as the first tier had been driven to the necessary depth the cast steel caps, longitudinal and cross-girders were fixed in position and the shore ends bolted down to the girder seatings.

In view of the great depth of mud and the lack of support for the piles it was considered desirable to take special precautions to prevent the first tier tilting seawards, under the great weight of the pile driving equipment, heavy tie-rods were, therefore,

bolted to the ends of the longitudinal girders and securely anchored to heavy concrete blocks sunk in the filling of the Camber jetty. These tie-rods were protected from corrosion by a reinforced concrete casing moulded in situ.

When placing the steel trough flooring of the deck of the first bay a further difficulty arose from the fact that, owing to the design, the channel guides of the pile driving equipment would not clear the superstructure of the jetty even when the crane was at its maximum angle of swing. The trouble was overcome by cutting the guides and forming a splice joint about five feet from the end of the guides. When used for handling the bracing or erecting the decking the spliced portion was removed and replaced when pile driving was resumed.

The piles of the second tier, like those of the first, were designed to be in single lengths but again six additional lengths of pile and six couplings were found to be necessary. Pile driving on the second tier was completed on Friday 13th December.

The driving of the third tier of piles was not completed until 14th February, serious delay having been caused by the necessity for erecting a temporary deck over the second bay to carry the pile driving equipment for the driving of the piles of the third tier as, owing to the design of the supporting steelwork, the permanent girders could not be placed in position until after the third tier of piles had been driven and braced. The absence of the Mechanical Foreman, who had sustained blood-poisoning from a minor injury which ultimately resulted in his being invalided to England, was also a great hindrance to progress.

In driving the piles of the third tier the same disappointing conditions were met, the depth to which the piles had to be driven to achieve the proper "set" being about thirty feet in excess of that provided for in the drawings.

Pile driving for the fourth tier was completed on 24th March slightly better conditions being encountered as in this tier the additional length of pile required was only 15 feet to each pile.

On 23rd April pile driving was completed on the fifth tier conditions being somewhat similar to those met in the fourth tier only 12 feet of additional pile being required for each pile. Some delay in driving the piles of this tier occurred owing to the fracture of one of the guide lugs of the pile driving hammer, it is possible that this lug was cracked as a result of the accident which occurred during the driving of the first tier of piles. Work was enabled to proceed by the use of a temporary wire-rope sling, the piles being driven for the most part by moderate blows and the hammer being

recentred after each blow. An attempt was made to effect a repair of the broken lug by electric welding but, owing to the massive construction of the piece and the difficulty in securing a proper fillet weld, the repair was unsatisfactory and the fracture recurred after only a few blows.

Pile driving on the sixth and last tier was completed on 22nd May delay again being caused by the design of the supporting steelwork of the fourth bay which required the erection of a temporary deck between the fourth and fifth tiers in order to carry the pile driving equipment for driving the sixth tier. This defect in the design might have resulted in very serious delay but for the fortuitous circumstance that the standard rolled steel joists for Protectorate road bridges—a quantity of which was fortunately in stock—were in every way suitable for this work.

Practically the whole of the steel of the underwater structure, including the cross and longitudinal diagonal bracing, horizontal struts and walings together with the boat stairs and the steel trough decking was completed on 11th June, or almost exactly eight months from the beginning of the work.

A concrete deck is being laid over the steel trough flooring and will be laid to falls to special drainage outlets. Bulkhead electric lights in waterproof fittings are being provided at each boat stair and special sockets and removable light standards are being supplied to enable the deck of the jetty to be fully lighted at night. Under normal conditions these standards will only be erected when special night work on the jetty is anticipated, the bulkhead light on the stairs being sufficient for casual traffic.

Labour was plentiful throughout the course of construction and the work of the Kroo labourers is deserving of special notice. These men, many of whom had had some previous experience of work on marine structures, did work of an arduous kind both above and below water. Amongst the most cheerful and willing of these workers was the well-known Freetown Harbour character "John Brown." Mr. K. H. B. Collier, A.M. Inst. C.E., who was the Resident Engineer in charge of Construction, speaks highly of the work performed by these men. Mr. D. A. Ross, Mechanical Foreman, Public Works Department, was fortunately able to return to the Colony, after being invalided, in time to assist with completion of the work on the steel structures. General control of the work was exercised by Mr. A. R. Smee, A.M. Inst. C.E., Provincial Engineer, Colony, Public Works Department.

The attached table is appended as a matter of interest and record and shows the depths to which each pile of the structure was driven.

Span No.	Pile No.	Length of Piles and number of Couplings supplied for each Span.			Length of Piles Driven.				Finished Length.
		1st length.	Exten. Piece.	No. of C'plugs.	1st length.	Extension Pieces.			
						1st.	2nd.	3rd.	
1	A.1	27'-7 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	—	—	27'-7 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	15'-1 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	5'-4 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	—	48'-1 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
—	B.1	"	—	—	"	"	2'-8 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	—	45'-5 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
—	C.1	"	—	—	"	"	10'-1 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	—	52'-10 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
2	A.2	34'-10 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	—	—	34'-10 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	14'-11 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	7'-9 $\frac{3}{8}$ "	—	57'-7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
—	B.2	"	—	—	"	14'-7 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	14'-11 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	—	64'-6"
—	C.2	"	—	—	"	14'-11 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	14'-7 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	—	64'-6"
3	A.3	28'-0"	14'-7 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	1	28'-0"	15'-0"	15'-0"	14'-2 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	72'-2 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
—	B.3	"	"	1	"	15'-0"	15'-0"	14'-9 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	72'-9 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
—	C.3	"	"	1	"	15'-0"	14'-7 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	—	57'-7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
4	A.4	32'-0"	15'-1 $\frac{3}{8}$ "	1	32'-0"	15'-3"	15'-0 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	—	62'-3 $\frac{1}{8}$ "
—	B.4	"	"	1	"	15'-3"	15'-3 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	—	62'-6 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
—	C.4	"	"	1	"	16'-0"	15'-4 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	—	63'-4 $\frac{1}{8}$ "
5	A.5	36'-5"	"	1	36'-5"	5'-2 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	—	—	41'-7 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
—	B.5	"	"	1	"	11'-11 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	15'-1 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	—	63'-6 $\frac{1}{8}$ "
—	C.5	"	"	1	"	14'-1 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	15'-1 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	—	65'-7 $\frac{1}{8}$ "
6	A.6	39'-5"	"	1	39'-5"	15'-3"	15'-1 $\frac{1}{8}$ "	—	69'-9 $\frac{1}{8}$ "
—	B.6	"	"	1	"	15'-3"	15'-3"	—	69'-11"
—	C.6	"	"	1	"	15'-3"	15'-3"	—	69'-11"

6. LOCUSTS.

BY E. HARGREAVES, M.S.M.

Everyone has heard of or read about locusts, and during the past few years many have been able to see them owing to their appearance in countries not regularly affected by them, as in Sierra Leone. A full account would occupy volumes, and it is only possible here to give a very general one.

It will be as well to define what is implied by "locusts", and one cannot do better than restrict the term to such species of short-horned grasshoppers (Acridiidæ) as definitely possess gregarious habits and wander or migrate in swarms. The generally accepted term "band" will be used when referring to a "swarm" of the young stages, or hoppers.

Locusts have long been known as a pest of crops, and are mentioned in the Bible (Exodus, 10), where it states that they entered Egypt during an east wind and ate every green thing in the land, and departed with a very strong west wind which drove them into the Red Sea (there is little doubt that this refers to the Desert Locust).

Locust invasions appear to be periodical in some countries; so far as available records for Sierra Leone show, there were previous visitations during the years 1841* and 1893†, but how long they persisted is not definitely known although according to conversation with the people they were present until about 1899 in the latter case. Our present invasion commenced in 1929, but in some other countries it began earlier probably owing to their being nearer to the original centre of dispersion of the locusts. The locust which concerns this country is the Tropical Migratory Locust; it is the tropical swarming phase of *Locusta migratoria*, which is designated *Locusta migratoria migratorioides* to distinguish it from *L. migratoria migratoria* which is the northern swarming phase of the same species. The study of this species is further complicated owing to the occurrence of a "solitary phase" which, in typical cases, is so different in appearance and habits that it was originally described as a different species—*Locusta danica*.

* Mrs Melville—A Residence at Sierra Leone, 1849.

† J. J. Crooks—A History of the Colony of Sierra Leone, 1903.

The theory of phases of locusts was first advanced by Uvarov in 1921 in connexion with *L. migratoria*, as providing a possible explanation of certain problems encountered during his studies ; his later work proved the validity of the theory and it has also been substantiated by that of others, both experimentally and in the field. The position with regard to *L. migratoria* is as follows :—

Northern form :	Solitary	phase	<i>L. migratoria danica</i>
	Swarming	„	- <i>L. migratoria migratoria</i>
Tropical form :	Solitary	„	resembling <i>danica</i>
	Swarming	„	<i>L. migratoria migratorioides</i> .

Between the extremes are all degrees of intermediate forms. Comparable phases have also been demonstrated in other species of locust.

Regarding the distribution of *L. migratoria*, it is wider than that of any other Acridiid known. It is simpler to state where it does *not* occur, i.e. in the New World, and beyond the 60th parallels north and south, in dense tropical forest and arid desert ; as to altitude, it occurs in the Himalayas up to 15,000 feet.

Within the infested areas are certain regions where development of the swarming phase may occur (outbreak centres) ; for *migratoria* (the northern form) such are practically limited to South Russia and Central Asia, near rivers and lakes, although formerly there were breeding areas in Western Europe ; for *migratorioides* (the tropical form), comparatively recent investigation has shown that the swarms of the present invasion originated in the French Sudan, somewhere in the region of Timbuctu.

Other species of locust occur in other areas :—*Schistocerca gregaria* (the Desert Locust) extended over East, North, and North-west and parts of West and Central Africa, and eastward through Persia to India, and even reached parts of Turkey and Russia (a few of these have been found mixed with our swarms of *Locusta*, and it is fortunate that we are apparently outside the range of extension of this species since, while *Locusta* practically confines itself to various grasses as food, the other will consume almost all crops) ;

Dociostaurus maroccanus (the Moroccan Locust) in Mediterranean countries and reaching as far south-west as the Canary Islands ;

Schistocerca paranensis (the South American Locust) in South and Central America ;

Locustana pardalina (the Brown Locust) in Southern Rhodesia and South and South-west Africa ;

Nomadacris septemfasciata (the Red Locust) in parts of Central, South and East Africa, and extending westward as far as the north-western part of Nigeria.

The need for enquiry into the reasons for periodic outbreaks of locusts has long been recognized, but it was only on the formation of a Sub-Committee on Locust Control (of the Committee of Civil Research; on the absorption of this into the Economic Advisory Council, the sub-committee became a committee) in 1929 that a definite start was made, in connexion at that time with the Desert Locust only, with terms of reference (a) means for the mass destruction of the Desert Locust *Schistocerca gregaria*, and (b) methods for ascertaining the reasons for the periodic swarming of this species; in 1931, the terms were extended to include other Tropical African Locusts. In the latter year, the first International Locust Conference was held in Rome, indicating the realisation of the international aspect of the problem; a second was held in Paris in 1932, a third in London in 1934, and a fourth in Cairo in 1936.

It will be realised that the ideal solution would be to deal with the locusts in their permanent breeding grounds, i.e. areas in which the solitary form occurs and is able to produce the migratory form. For this purpose, it is essential to locate the places, so that a potential outbreak may be stopped at the source.

Investigations seem to show that the seasonal movement of locust swarms is closely related to wind direction and relative humidity, and that they have a tendency to keep within a zone with definite limits of mean humidity. Accordingly, as the zone moves in a southerly direction from the onset of the "harmattan" in December during the dry season, that is the period during which they may be expected to enter Sierra Leone; in June and July, the humidity becomes too high and they leave the country following the northerly movement of the zone and wind. Such movements will therefore be across the main vegetation belts, so that invading swarms may be expected to enter Sierra Leone at almost any part of the international border of the Northern Province. In Sierra Leone, the usual period when swarms enter this country is from near the end of December until March or April. Eggs are generally laid between the end of April and early June. They are laid in the ground, and for this purpose the female makes a hole about three inches deep, lines it with a spongy substance which is resistant to water and which enables the eggs to survive flooding and desiccation, then places the eggs inside sticking them together with similar material; when egg-laying is completed, a plug of the same closes the hole. An egg pod is from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches long and one-third to one-half inch diameter, and the average number of eggs in each is probably about 70, but there may be over 100; one female may deposit more than one batch of eggs.

The type of land preferred by the locust for oviposition is usually flooded during part of the rainy season so that we get concentrations of egg-laying near the larger rivers and marshes such as occur particularly in the Scarcies areas. During the dry season such land develops cracks, and advantage is taken of these openings for oviposition.

When the limitation of favourable breeding grounds is considered, concentration of egg masses is not surprising; where test digging has been done, as many as 382 egg masses per square yard have been obtained, and in this particular case the extent of the area was estimated at 35 acres. To give an idea of the number of locusts which may develop in an area, let us consider one acre containing 380 pods per square yard, and for simplicity say 100 eggs per pod; this amounts to the total of almost 184 millions.

Eggs hatch in from 14 days upward depending upon the time and place of deposition and weather conditions; hatching generally commences in May, giving rise to the hoppers and it is during this stage that the main damage is done as most of the crops are then growing. On leaving the egg, hoppers are about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long; they eat voraciously and grow quickly and after six weeks, during which period they moult five times, they become the more familiar full-grown locust with wings. Some swarms are large, and may be over 40 miles long and over $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide. Let us try to realize what this means: suppose a swarm of this size with a depth of 40 feet and that in each cubic foot of it there are 4 locusts; this gives us the enormous total of 44,605,440,000 which, allowing 20 locusts to the ounce, would weigh more than 60,000 tons. The terrific amount of vegetation that this weight represents will be appreciated when it is stated that a locust consumes many times its own weight of food during its development and life. Food of both young and full-grown locusts consists almost entirely of grasses, such as rice, maize, fundi, sugar cane, bamboo, which circumstance renders this pest so serious in Sierra Leone, rice being of course one of the staple foods.

The damage caused by locusts amounts to millions of pounds a year; in addition to the actual loss of crops and the resultant hardship for the people, there is the expenditure of time and labour, and materials used in fighting them.

Locusts are, however, of use in some ways, as they form an article for diet in some countries; they also make good food for fowls, and constitute a valuable manure for crops.

They are not free of enemies, and in addition to birds they are attacked by insects and diseases which sometimes result in whole swarms being annihilated. Some insects attack the eggs,

others develop inside the body of the hopper or adult. There is also a fungus and a bacillus which affect the insect, and attempts have been made to spread infection by spraying bands and swarms with cultures of these, but the method is seldom effective even though under favourable conditions the diseases are very infectious.

As has been previously mentioned, the ideal being aimed at is to deal with the locusts in their permanent home, so that it is during what may be termed the quiescent period, i.e. that between invasions, when they are confined to a relatively small area, that the most effective work may be done. During invasions, especially in a place like Africa where many areas are sparsely populated, it is impossible to deal effectively with them, and all that can be done is to protect local crops as far as possible.

There are various methods used in killing them. In some cases it is worth while to dig up and destroy the eggs, but under the general prevailing conditions it is not always known where they have been laid. In some countries the government has paid, by weight, for eggs collected by people, but it is found that the method is generally of little use.

The hopper stage of the locust is the most vulnerable, and the measures employed against them may be divided into chemical and others. The most generally practicable on a large scale is the digging of trenches across their direction of march; when these become full they are killed by the people walking on them and they are then removed to make room for others. Modifications of this include pits, and where the ground is too rocky for trenching, sheets of zinc or other suitable metal are built up as a barrier, with pits at intervals into which the hoppers fall after meeting the barrier and travelling alongside it. The insects can be driven into bush already prepared, which is then burned; in some cases beating is resorted to, but this is only suitable for very small bands. In some countries it is possible to use flame throwers against hoppers and adults, but in Sierra Leone it is far too expensive and also the nights are not cool enough to render the adults sufficiently comatose to prevent them taking flight. The remaining methods may be grouped under chemical, and various materials may be applied in different ways. Kerosene may be used as a spray for the first three stages of hopper. Now we come to poisons, the more commonly used being sodium arsenite or other arsenical compound, but sodium fluosilicate is also effective though not so potent and requiring a longer time for action. These materials may be applied as powder, in solution or suspension as a spray, or incorporated in a bait. Where climatic conditions permit, and a suitable "carrier" (such as sawdust or bran) for the poison is available, a bait is probably the most satisfactory. In Sierra

Leone, one composed of sawdust, Paris green or other arsenical and salt, with the required amount of water, is effective, but hoppers are generally only prevalent in May and June when rain is frequent, and as rain ruins the bait, it will be seen that its use is limited. All these poisons cause death by ingestion with the food, but sodium arsenite also kills from outside, by contact. For large-scale operations, aeroplanes have been used as a means of dusting for both hoppers and adults (including flying swarms), but as this method may be attended by considerable risk to animals, its scope is restricted.

However, investigations leading to the prevention of further invasions by dealing with the locusts at their actual source, continue, and progress indicates that, at least so far as our species of locust is concerned, this most desirable objective is in sight.

7. THE ARREST OF BAI FORKI AFTER THE 1898 RISING.

*A Report by the late Lt.-Colonel H. G. Warren with a Foreword
by N. G. Frere, C.M.G.*

FOREWORD.

The *Sierra Leone Weekly News* published about two years ago articles by Mr. C. R. Morrison, I.S.O., on the 1898 Rebellion, where the causes and results of this outbreak have been fully described.

When the resistance of the dissident Timni leaders was overcome, and their war boys scattered, it remained for Government to arrest the leaders and to disarm the people, and officers of the Frontier Police, with small parties, were detailed for this duty.

Among other leaders, Bai Forki, Paramount Chief of the Maforki Chiefdom, made himself notorious, and it was in his country that the European Missionary, the Rev. W. H. Humphreys, was murdered.

It fell to the lot of Captain H. G. Warren of the Frontier Police to effect the arrest of Bai Forki, and his report on his return from this duty may prove of interest.

Captain Warren continued in the service of the Sierra Leone Government for many years as a Political officer and eventually he (afterwards Lt.-Colonel Warren) died at Batkanu in 1919. He was very greatly esteemed and respected by the people of the Karene District among whom he had lived and worked for so long.

REPORT.

FROM THE OFFICER-COMMANDING "D" COY., KARENE
TO

THE DEPUTY DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, KARENE DISTRICT.

Arrest of BAI FORKI. The seizure of arms, etc. in Bai Forki's country also in BAI KUHARI'S country.

The recovery of the remains of the REV. HUMPHREYS who was murdered in Bai Forki's country.

SIR,

I have the honour to report on the above for information of His Excellency the Governor.

I left here on the 11th instant with 10 N.C.O. and men, for the purpose of patrolling through Bai Forki's country and in arresting the same if possible, and also to collect tax from various chiefs.

Before starting, I sent two Frontiers, who were not known in this district, disguised into Bai Forki to find out the whereabouts of the same.

I had intended going to Magbelli *via* Port Locko as at Magbelli I expected to get reliable information from Pa Suba which would lead to the arrest of Bai Forki; as Captain Sharpe, D.C., had received a letter from Pa Suba stating that Bai Forki was in his power.

Having to collect a certain amount of tax from various chiefs, I did not go the main road to Port Locko but, went in a South-easterly course through Bai Secca and Bai Kuhari's territories.

While halting the night at Melakori in the Mekama country, I got information from an ex-Frontier of the whereabouts of two natives, Bentura and Congabama, who were in command of the warboys the time Rev. Humphreys was killed; I should state that this old frontier was carrying a load for Mr. Humphreys the time he was murdered and could swear to these two men being present.

While at Melakori I heard from Serjeant Wilson that Bai Forki was at Port Locko so I at once started off for Port Locko leaving my escort at Melakori.

On my arrival at Port Locko I gave out that I was a missionary in order that Bai Forki would not be alarmed, as I hoped to get all his headmen at Port Locko before arresting him.

I waited at Port Locko two days and as they did not seem to come in Bai Forki was arrested, and the same day I had a palaver with him, and told him that I intended marching through his country and so let the people know that the war was over and that they must settle down and rebuild their towns again. Having arranged with him to gather all his people to meet me at Romakunkabo where I wanted them to give up all their arms, etc. if they wanted to have peace.

I then told him that when at Romakunkabo the head and hands of Mr. Humphreys had to be given up to me, he told me that was impossible as he knew nothing about that palaver, as he was sick when Mr. Humphreys was killed and that Kel Khoragbamp was the man who knew about it.

I then gave orders to him that he must send two of his men to fetch Kel Khoragbamp.

Having waited another day and as Kel Khoragbamp did not come in I left Port Locko accompanied by Pa Suba and a few followers of Bai Forki's.

A few hours march from Port Locko I heard news of Kel Khoragbamp passing through a small Fakie close by; two men were then told off to try and cut him off which they did and brought him to me.

The march was then continued on to Romakungkuto, and the same day a few arms were brought unto me but no headmen arrived.

The following day most of Bai Forki's headmen came in and from them I got a good quantity of arms, etc. But on asking them what they knew about the head and hands of Mr. Humphreys they all told me they knew nothing about them.

I spoke to them very severely and said I had come for the head and hands of the white man who was killed and "the head and the hands" I was going to get before I left this town. I also said I did not want to know who killed him, and in order to show them this I would point out a place in the bush where they were to leave them; as I could see that they would never be given to me in person.

So taking Bai Forki and Pa Suba some way out of the town we went into the bush and there cleared a small space and marked the same by a white flag. I visited the place next day but no signs of anything.

The people were again gathered and again I addressed them and said that if I did not get Mr. Humphreys' remains the following day Bai Forki would have the palaver fall on him. At daybreak next day the head and a few bones were found in the place appointed. And the head was no doubt that of Mr. Humphreys as a few of the back teeth were stuffed.

The remains were carefully packed up and sent to the Missionaries at Port Locko who were very anxious for the same.

Having collected 89 guns and 67 swords I left for Karene bringing with me Bai Forki and the two prisoners already mentioned whom the frontiers arrested at Melakori; also Bai Forki's headmen and a few followers.

I proceeded on to Bai Kuhari's country and there collected more guns and swords but anxious to get back to Karene with the prisoners I did not wait long enough to collect all his arms.

From here I passed on to Bai Secca's country and collected his tax and returned back to Karene *via* Rogbinti.

I might add that I left two frontiers in disguise to find out the whereabouts of Wassia and Massa and others implicated in Rev. Humphreys' murder and today they returned and reported that they know where they are. I intend sending off a small party to-night to arrest the same.

I have, etc.,

HAROLD GALWAY WARREN, CAPT.,

Sierra Leone Frontier Force.

KARENE,

23rd January, 1899.

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